REPORT ON NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS IN THE PUNJAB

1937

and the views expressed are the same in the two cases and there is also the same freshness in the treatment of the subjects and the same vigour in the expression of the views. Take, for instance, Pandit Jawahar Lal's observations on the question of office acceptance which is the most vitally important question dealt with by him in his address. To those who plead for the acceptance of office on the ground that if the Congress does not accept office others will do so, and they will put obstacles in the way of the freedom movement, Pandit Jawahar Lal gives a reply which is not only cogent but conclusive. "If we are in a majority," he says, "we can prevent others from misbehaving; we can even prevent the formation of any ministry. If our majority is a doubtful one, then office for us depends on compromise with non-Congress elements, a policy full of danger to our cause and one which would inevitably lead to our acting in direct opposition to the Congress mandate of rejection of the Act." All this has been said again and again and so far no attempt has been made in any pro-office quarter to meet this argument. And yet it is only by satisfactorily answering this argument that the pro-office party can convince their opponents of the soundness of their position. In its issue of the 29th December, the paper remarks that unlike so many others who are content to take an isolated view of each question as it arises, Pandit Jawahar Lal's view of India's national and international questions is essentially organic. The struggle for freedom in India is to him but a part of the struggle that is going on all over the world, the struggle between democracy and fascism, nationalism and imperialism, socialism and a decaying capitalism. To him the problem of problems in the world to-day is how "to put an end to the mad world system which breeds war and conflict which crush millions, to abolish poverty and unemployment and release the energies of vast numbers of people, and utilize them for the progress and betterment of humanity, to build where to-day we destroy." And this, in his view, is as much India's problem as that of any other country that is in the throes of conflict. All this is essentially true, but in paper's opinion it is not the whole truth. Even if the economic problem of India, the grinding poverty and the vast unemployment, had not been there, the political problem, the problem of subjection, would still have been there, and would have called loudly and imperatively for immediate solution. The paper then comments at length on the views expressed by Pandit Jawahar Lal on British Imperialism and says that after all, British Imperialism is a very much shrunken thing to-day. It has disappeared completely from the self-governing Dominions. Its only remaining stronghold is India, and in India itself it is in the process of breaking up. At such a time the Indians should surely be on their guard against provoking a reaction by making British Imperialism another King Charles's head. It is necessary to bear this in mind because in dealing with India's internal affairs, even more than in dealing with world affairs, Pandit Jawahar Lal finds it difficult to get rid of his obsession. He seems to think that all important and influential

elements in India that for one reason or another are not in the Congress to-day are in league with British Imperialism. The division of India into numerous communal compartments can have no other effect except to strengthen the hold of the third party. But it is certainly not their love of British Imperialism which keeps the Liberals and so many independent Nationalists out of the Congress. It is, indeed, the literal truth that British Imperialism and British domination are as repulsive to them as to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru himself. The reason why they think and speak of India's goal in terms of Dominion Status is that they consider, that Dominion Status is the only practically attainable ideal for India in the present conditions and because so far as the fullness of India's freedom whether for national or international affairs is concerned. Dominion Status and complete indepedence are interchangeable terms. And yet Pandit Jawahar Lal never refers to these men, some of whom have grown grey in the service of the country, except as conscious or unconscious allies of British Imperialism. This is not the way to create that united front which Pandit Jawahar Lal undoubtedly desires? Nor does the Pandit make things easy for the Congress and the cause it represents by the declaration of an open war against the Princes and other vested interests in India. Within the Congress itself he fully realises the necessity of subordinating his desire for Socialism to his desire for creating a united front against Imperialism and in favour of independence. Why does he not see that what is true of the Congress is also true of the country? Is it expedient by making these important classes panicky to throw them into the arms of British Imperialism?

7. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 28th December, the Pandit's address this year is the shortest on record, not because he is short of words and short of ideas, but because he seems to be conscious of the fact that his old promises to peasants and workers have not been fulfilled and have been reduced to mere platitudes. As a conscientious man the Pandit, says the paper, cannot repeat his old promises, knowing full well that they are not going to be honoured just at present. His promise of relief to the peasants and workers becomes a distant dream. For the attainment of Swaraj and complete Independence too he looks more to world complications than to India's own inherent strength. The problem of India's hunger and want cannot await solution. If the Congress leaders fail to tackle it properly others will try and get credit even for their partial success. Lord Linlithgow speaks now the language of Pandit Nehru. He does not talk much of law and order, as his predecessor used to do. His warnings to zamindars and landlords cannot go in vain. Who knows, the Viceroy may succeed where the Congress President has failed. Government and Congress forces are in a way running a race. They will be judged not by what they profess but by what they achieve. The Faizpur Congress session shows the fighters of freedom's battle at a discount. It points a finger of warning. Will the Congress leaders take note of it?

8. According to the *People* (Lahore) of the 28th December, the Pandit's address is brief, striking and forceful. The first thing that strikes one, even when glancing through the address in a casual way, is the complete absence of any reference to what are regarded as the main planks of the orthodox Congress platform, *e.g*, Khadi, Harijan work, Village Industries Association, Temperance, Satyagraha. The Pandit makes it very clear, indeed, that he wants to use the Congress for anti-Imperialist purposes, but not for Socialism. In this his stand is exactly that of Mr. M. N. Roy.

9. Writing in the *Hindu* (Lahore) of the 31st December, Bhai Permanand says that a cursory glance at the Pandit's address will show that he has not said anything new. His speech is in fact beyond the scope of practical politics. For instance, the Pandit says that he will form a Constituent Assembly which will draw up India's constitution. A Constituent Assembly, however, can be called only when the existing Government has ceased functioning. But as long as the present Government exists no such Assembly can be formed without its sanction.

(d) Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's Presidential Address at the Faizpur Session of the Indian National Congress: Muslim view.

10. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 29th December, writes that the Congress, according to Mr. Nehru, stands to-day for full democracy in India and not for Socialism. He, however, makes no attempt to disguise his Socialist leanings and advocates a programme which, if acted upon, is bound to lead to Socialism. His references to the crushing burden of debt on the agricultural classes, the poverty of the masses and the prevalence of unemployment in the country, show that his sympathy with the people is genuine. The question, however, is whether independence can be attained by methods proposed by the Congress. Entering the Councils solely with a view to fighting the Government of India Act and a Convention of all Congress members of all legislatures, to put forward the demand for a Constituent Assembly and to determine how to oppose the introduction of the Federal structure of the Act, cannot realize this consummation which is so devoutly wished for by Congress men. The paper is not so sanguine about the attainment of independence in the near future, but it quite agrees with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru that the Federal structure of the India Act should be opposed by all possible means. The Federal scheme, to quote the language of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, is thoroughly rotten, fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable. It is the duty of all progressive forces in the country, whether within or without the Congress, to fight proposals which would place India at the mercy of reactionary Princes and throw serious obstacles in the way of her political emancipation. Speeches made in the Subjects Committee of the Congress would show that some of its leaders, including Babu Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, are in favour of acceptance of office. Mr. Nehru is, however, perfectly justified in saying that office acceptance would be a negation of the

Congress policy of rejection of the Act. The paper regrets that while the Pandit's address deals with most of the questions which are agitating the country, not even a passing reference is made in it to the communal problem. His total avoidance of the subject in his presidential speech would show that he is still unable to appreciate to the full the realities of Indian life.

11. According to the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 30th December, the Pandit's address is an useful review and an enlightening commentary on the national and international problems. The part of the address dealing with international problems, says the paper, presents a vivid picture of British Imperialism and exposes threadbare Britain's claims that it is adopting a peace-loving attitude.

12. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 30th December, says that in his address the Pandit has expressed the desire that a powerful joint front of all nationalist forces should be set up in the country. But it is a matter of regret that he has made no mention of the most essential thing, viz., the communal settlement. When the Pandit has already condemned the policy of the Congress in regard to the Communal Award it was his duty to put forward some proposal regarding the communal settlement in order to remove doubts from the minds of the minority communities. This would have strengthened the proposal about the establishment of a Constituent Assembly.

13. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 30th December, is glad that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has in his presidential address dealt with numerous questions concerning India like those of Federation, acceptance and non-acceptance of offices under the new Constitution, unemployment, poverty, indebtedness, etc. The paper, however, regrets that the Pandit has not dwelt on the question of communal unity, although this very question forms the real basis of struggle for Indian freedom. It is the duty of every patriot to find out some remedy to put an end to the existing communal differences in India.

(e) Mr. Gandhi's Speech at the Congress.

14. Commenting upon the speech delivered by Mr. Gandhi at the Congress, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 29th December, says that the speech is rightly described as Mahatma Gandhi's first comprehensive political utterance since his retirement in 1934. It shows that the old fire is not only alive in his breast but glows as brightly as ever. "Many," he said, "might be doubtful about my strength and capacity. They possibly ask, what has this old man got? Let me assure you I am filled with the same strength and energy that I had years ago. Is there any issue on which I can go to jail? Show me that and I will go. I am prepared to mount the scaffold if there is an occasion." The paper entirely agrees with the Mahatma that there is no issue at present on which he can or ought to go to jail,

less is there any occasion for his mounting the scaffold. If such an issue or such an occasion were there, there is no man or woman in the country who doubts that the Mahatma would readily go to jail again or mount the scaffold, as the case might be. "Where is the necessity for us," the Mahatma said, "to go to Lord Linlithgow and the British Parliament? They will come to us. During my stay at Shaogaon I have been visualizing a state when Lord Linlithgow will come to the Congress and declare that he was sorry for the wrong impression he had formed about the Congress and Congressmen. He would say, 'I am sorry for the wrong impression we formed of you. We thought you were terrorists and violent people, but we have realized that you are really non-violent.' Lord Linlithgow will then ask us whether he and his men should stay in India or whether we wanted them to go by the next boat. We will say, 'There is no need for you people to go. India is a vast country. You and your people can stay comfortably, provided you accommodate yourselves to our conditions here. We do not want any immigration law.'" "This," said the Mahatma, "is my Swaraj. I see perfect vision of India under such Swaraj." The picture is fascinating, and what is more, the conditions visualized by the Mahatma are wholly practicable. The splendid manner in which the British people have accommodated themselves to the changed conditions in the self-governing Dominions and within the last few months in Egypt leaves no room for doubt in one's mind that once India is united and is able to develop the necessary strength and efficiency they will equally readily accommodate themselves to the new conditions in India. But who will bring this unity, this strength, this efficiency to India if the most gifted of her leaders will not undertake that task, and if the Congress it self will either neglect the work or attempt to do it in a manner which alienates those whom it ought to attract?

15. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 30th December, is glad that Mr. Gandhi has declared that if the Britishers were to say that they were going by the next steamer he would tell them to stay, because there was plenty of room for both Indians and Britishers to live peacefully in India. The Mahatma, says the paper, has extended once more the hand of friendship and this is most obviously in response to the appeal of the Viceroy for the co-operation of all the different parties in India in the service of the Motherland. Lord Linlithgow has brought about a change in the official vision. He talks the least about law and order and repression at any cost; he speaks the language of the Congress and tells landlords and other vested interests that the safest course to follow in combating terrorism and revolutionary ideas is to look into the grievances of the peasants and workers and give them as much relief as possible. The message of Rural Reconstruction breathed the Gandhian spirit. A change undoubtedly has come in official circles. Mahatma Gandhi reciprocates that change by declaring that there is no occasion for Congress men to go to jail.

16. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 30th December, characterizes Mr. Gandhi's speech as historic and says that Mr. Gandhi has given a new message of hope to his fellow-countrymen and has given rise to the idea in certain circles that he is perhaps again going to enter the field of politics.

(f) The Faizpur Session of the Congress.

17. According to the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 30th December, the success of the Faizpur Congress is a great tribute to the cause that the Congress stands for, but the actual achievements of the Session are meagre, if not definitely disappointing. The Congress, says the paper, has met and dispersed, leaving the Indians where they were before it met. The vital question of office acceptance has been shelved and no action has been taken to ameliorate the lot of the teeming millions of India The Agrarian Committee could not submit its report and therefore no action could be taken in the matter of relief to peasants and workers. In the matter of speeches, too, the Faizpur Session was not very striking ; with the exception of the speeches by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi, the eloquence was not very inspiring.

18. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 31st December, the Faizpur session of the Congress was an unique event. The notable feature of the session, says the paper, is that it was presided over by the President of the preceding session, and that that President in his turn re-appointed the members of the old Working Committee for another term. The change is not so small as it looks. It not only provides in the most effective manner possible for a continuity of policy, but is essentially a step towards the establishment of responsible cabinet government in the Congress. Another noticeable feature of the session was the resolution empowering the Working Committee to call a national convention consisting of the Congress members of the various Legislatures and the members of the All-India Congress Committee and such other persons as the Working Committee may choose, which "shall put the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the forefront and shall determine feasible methods for ending the constitution in provinces and for opposing the introduction of the Federal structure of the new Constitution and will consider what other steps should be taken in the Legislatures to give effect to the policy laid down in the Congress election maifesto and Congress resolutions." The last noticeable feature of the session is its mass contact programme. The whole of this programme is not yet before the public ; in fact it is yet to be drawn up. But even the steps that have already been decided upon are of great importance and of unquestionable significance.

19. According to the *People* (Lahore) of the 31st December, the Faizpur session of the Congress was perhaps the most business-like affair possible. It is highly significant, says the paper, that little difference of opinion was visible at the Congress session. There is no attempt to disguise differences in outlook ; but there is a genuine

desire to work in harmony for the nation's cause and to eschew all theologian-like warfare about dogmas and shibboleths. All are anxious that the Congress should emerge triumphant at the polling-booths. All are agreed that the new Constitution that is being thrust upon India is a wicked thing that must be put an end to. All are agreed that the object of sending members to the legislature must not be a policy of reformism. There seems to be general agreement that the wrecking of the Constitution cannot be accomplished merely by work, inside the legislature, but would have to be achieved mainly by a mass movement. All are agreed, therefore, that the 'mass contact' should be deepened and made more effective.

(g) Sir Cowasji Jehangir's Presidential Address at the Lucknow Session of the National Liberal Federation.

20 Commenting upon the remark made by Sir Cowasji Jehangir in the course of his Presidential address at the session of the National Liberal Federation at Lucknow that the Liberals have, from the very beginning, advocated a policy of getting into the Legislatures and taking office, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 30th December, enquires how many Liberals there are in the Legislatures to-day and how many candidates the Liberal Party have put forward for the forthcoming elections to the Provincial Assemblies. The question of the office acceptance, says the paper, can arise only in the case of a party with a majority in the Legislatures, whether absolute or relative. Can the Liberals hope to be in a majority in any Legislature in the country under the new Constitution? If not, what is the use of their being in favour of office acceptance? Again, the Liberals say that they have always stood for responsible government and Dominion Status rather than for complete independence, which, in their opinion, is not an attainable ideal in the present conditions. Granted. But responsible government is essentially based on the existence of two or more political parties in the country, one of which being in a majority accepts office, while the other or others form the Opposition and bide their time. If the Liberals are such firm believers in responsible government, why do they not try to make themselves a strong political party with a sufficient backing in the country?

21. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 31st December, writes that a perusal of Sir Cowasji Jehangir's address will show that the Liberals are as sensible of the defects of the Government of India Act as our left-wing politicians. Sir Cowasji shows in a most able fashion that the new Constitution is more reactionary in some respects than the existing constitution. Almost all the objections urged against the Government of India Act by the President of the National Liberal Federation relate to the Federal structure. In these circumstances his advocacy of acquiescence in the Federation is not only unreasonable but smacks of extreme weakness. It is this want of backbone which is responsible for the failure of the Liberals to command the confidence of the people in general and to earn for them the reproach of cowardice.

22. The *People* (Lahore) of the 31st December, thinks that Sir Cowasji has entirely missed the purpose Congressmen have in view when they think of capturing the Councils, and that is why he feels so unhappy that they do not accept his worthy lead. Sir Cowasji, says the paper, would do well to get rid of the idea that Congressmen are repenting for having attempted mass action, and are therefore turning to the legislatures The fact that 'mass contact' was the central item of discussion at a Congress session being held when the election fight is thickening should be enough, to disillusion him. Once he disabuses himself of this notion, it should be easy for the Liberal Chairman to see how fundamentally the Congress attitude towards the Constitution, even when the Congress is setting up candidates for legislatures, is different from his own attitude, and why it is utterly impossible for the Congress to appreciate and accept his reformist-liberal point of view.

(h) Agricultrual Credit in India.

23. Commenting upon the report submitted to the Government of India by the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 31st December, says that the report shows that the total debt of agriculturists, which was roughly estimated at Rs. 900 crores in 1930, must now be almost twice as large as a result of the catastrophic fall in prices. The suggestions in the report being most comprehensive, deserve the earnest consideration of all Provincial Governments. This is all the more necessary, as they are conceived in a most impartial spirit and propose restrictions not only on the Bania, but also on the agriculturist money-lender, who wants to grab his neighbour's land under the shelter of Land Alienation Acts. The chief proposal is to the effect that where indebtedness has grown beyond any reasonable capacity of the debtor to pay, the debt "must be reduced"—preferably voluntarily—either in respect of the capital amount or the rate of interest, or both, and the amount recoverable should be assessed by an independent conciliation authority. This recommendation is on the lines of provisions relating to Conciliation Boards in the Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act, and has also the support of the Indian National Congress behind it.

(i) Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Convocation Address to the Punjab University.

24. Commenting upon the address delivered by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Convocation of the Punjab University, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 23rd December, says that there is hardly any question connected with University education with which the address did not deal, or in regard to which it had not something at once thought-provoking and essentially practical to say. But perhaps the most valuable part of Sir Tej Bahadur's address is that in which he dealt with the problem of "educated unemployed" which he has in a special sense made his own. The whole address, in fact, is rimful of stimulating and fruitful ideas, and the paper feels no

hesitation in congratulating Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the very useful contribution he has made to the study of one of India's most pressing problems. Elsewhere, the paper says, that while there is much in Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Convocation address which will command universal assent among patriotic and thoughtful Indians, there is one part of it from which many Congress men will honestly and frankly differ. While agreeing with those who have been saying for the last few months that "the success or failure of the new Governments which are to come into being in the provinces within the next few months will be measured by their ability or inability to face and cope with our economic problems," he said that he did not "believe in the paralysing doctrine that we can do nothing to relieve unemployment or economic distress generally until the dream of a new order of society has been realized." If the reference is to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and other responsible Congress leaders of his way of thinking, Sir Tej Bahadur's statement of their position is surprisingly inaccurate. They do not say that nothing can be done to relieve unemployment or economic distress until society is reconstituted on a socialistic basis, but that the problem of poverty and unemployment cannot be adequately dealt with till then. There is surely nothing paralysing in such a doctrine.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

Nil.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,

The 2nd January, 1937. *Punjab Civil Secretariat.*

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 9th January, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Anglo-Italian Agreement.

1. Commenting upon the Anglo-Italian Agreement with regard to the Mediterranean, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 6th January, observes that the Anglo-Italian tension, brought about by the conflict of policies in the Abyssinian episode and rivalry in the Mediterranean, will be considerably relaxed for the time being at any rate, by the present agreement. But the Italian policy in the Mediterranean is such that it cannot but be regarded as a menace to British interests there. Britain's unpreparedness for war has led to a temporizing policy. The question now is will this agreement serve merely as a stop-gap or will Britain climb down still further and accept permanently the roll of a second fiddle to Rome in the Mediterranean ?

2. According to the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 7th January, the salient fact about this agreement is that Mussolini urgently desires friendship with Britain. The raid on Abyssinia, says the paper, has been blessed by Hitler and a few minor Powers ; Britain has hitherto refused to recognize Italy's sovereignty over this unfortunate land. But Britain, owing to her commitments in the Near East, is the most important factor, and it is of supreme importance to Italy that Britain should recognise the King of Italy as the Sovereign of Abyssinia. Doubtless this is expected to be the sequel to the new pact. Mussolini's diplomacy will again triumph and Britain may now be expected to turn a blind eye towards Italian doings in Spain.

3. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 8th January, avers that if after suffering many humiliations Britain has entered into an agreement with Italy in regard to the Mediterranean this is not the victory, but defeat of her diplomacy. In paper's opinion England will gain nothing by the agreement and Mussolini's acts of high-handedness in the Mediterranean will continue unchecked. The agreement constitutes the worst defeat of British statesmanship.

(b) Turko-French Dispute.

4. Referring to the dispute that has arisen between Turkey and France on the latter insisting on retaining the incorporation of Alexandretta and Antioch with Syria, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 8th January, says that France is not ready to abide by her treaty obligations because that would be contrary to her self-interest. Not content with expressing her reluctance to part with the two Turkish districts, France recently sent reinforcements to Syria with a view to intimidating Turkey. These threats have, however, failed in their effect and as the latest movement of the Turkish Ministers and Generals shows, Turkey is determined to enforce her rights by the sword, if necessary. In its issue of the 9th January, the paper remarks that the French Government will surely pause before deciding to cross swords with Turkey at this juncture. France cannot afford to undertake a campaign in Asia Minor, for by

so doing she would have to break her friendship with Britain, which is on very friendly terms with Turkey and will not be drawn into any conflict in the eastern Mediterranean.

(c) Indians in Zanzibar.

5. Commenting upon the Binder Commission Report on the clove industry in Zanzibar, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 5th January, says that the report has called forth strong protests in this country. What is most outrageous about Mr. Binder's recommendation is that he urges the retention of the monopoly in the interest of the Zanzibaris. Can any man in his senses expect for a moment a monopolistic concern to pay more regard to the interests of those from whom it purchases its goods than to its own pocket? If the Clove Growers' Association has no competitors in the purchase of cloves from growers, it is bound to leave no stone unturned to beat down the price of cloves and cause loss to the cultivator. A competition beween purchasers on the other hand cannot but be to the benefit of agriculturists in Zanzibar. "The permanent economic interests of the territory as a whole" as well as the terms of the Treaty of 1893 therefore demand that the "exclusive privilege of trade" with the cultivators of cloves in Zanzibar should be withdrawn from the Clove Growers' Association with the least possible delay.

6. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 6th January, considers the report to be one-sided and says that it is impossible for Indians to allow its recommendations to be carried out. That the very people who created the Zanzibar clove industry, long before the country came under a British Protectorate, should continue to be deprived of the fruits of their industry is unthinkable. The paper is certain that the Binder Report will be challenged most vigorously in the Legislative Assembly, for if its proposals be adopted the consequences would be grave indeed; if administrative approval were to be given to the terms of the Report it would mean the elimination of Indians from Zanzibar trade.

7. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 9th January, the recommendations made by Mr. Binder are thoroughly untenable and ensure the establishment of a monopoly in the clove industry in Zanzibar which will ruin Indians there. The paper urges the Government of India to declare that it will not permit Indians overseas to be treated like orphans.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) Communal Settlement in Bengal.

8 The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 9th January, characterises the agreement that has just been reached between the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan on behalf of Hindus and Sir A. H. Ghuznavi on behalf of Muslims with regard to the communal problem in Bengal as an event of great and far-reaching importance. But the fundamental drawback of the agreement, according to the paper, is that it leaves the root of the present trouble entirely unaffected. The separate

electorates are not only to remain for the next ten years, but there is no assurance or guarantee that they will disappear even then. Let the Hindus of Bengal as Hindus accept the arrangement by all means, if they consider that its provisions afford them the minimum measure of protection they need, and let them cease to agitate against it on communal grounds. But the Nationalist agitation against the Award stands on an entirely different footing and must go on until the basis of the Award is altered and separate electorates are definitely and finally abandoned.

9. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 9th January, avers that agreement will be highly welcome if it results in an appeasement of the communal tension. If the object aimed at by the parties to the pact is realized, it will enable the people of Bengal to extract the greatest amount of good from the new Reforms while at the same time placing them in a position to make a united demand for a further improvement of the constitution at an early date. It will bring self-government much nearer realisation in the Province and thus satisfy the patriotic aspirations of the intelligentsia. The paper urges the representatives of the various communities to follow the example of Bengal and settle their differences definitely among themselves.

10. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 10th January, is glad that an agreement has been arrived at between the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal over the communal question. It expresses the wish that it may serve as an example to other provinces also.

11. The *Milap* (Lahore) of the 10th January, does not consider the agreement to be bad so far as the question of the distribution of Services and Ministries is concerned. It asks the Hindu and Muslim leaders of the Punjab to learn a lesson from the agreement.

(b) The Congress and the Muslims.

12. Referring to Mr. Jinnah's protest against Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's reported remark in Calcutta that there were only two parties in the country, namely, the Congress and the Government, and that all others must line up with either of them, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 5th January, says that as a matter of fact, Mr. Jinnah's right to speak on behalf of his community is challenged by large sections of his community, one of which is actually in and behind the Congress. The immediate occasion for Mr. Jinnah's somewhat bellicose speech was the fact of the Congress having put forward some candidates in the Muslim constituencies. In the absence of an understanding between the Congress and the League, is not the Congress fully entitled to put up its candidates for Muslim as for general territorial seats? As a matter of fact, if the Congress is to blame in this matter at all, it is not because it has put up a few candidates for Muslim seats, but because it has not put up at least as many candidates for Muslim and other communal seats as it has put up for general territorial seats.

13. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 6th January, Mr. Jinnah's dignified protest in Calcutta against Congress interference in the affairs of Muslims is perfectly justified. Not only Paudit Jawahar Lal Nehru but also other Congress leaders, says the paper, appear to have hypnotized themselves into the belief that there are only two parties in the country, namely, the Congress and the Government. That this assertion is absolutely contrary to the facts is well known. There are several Provinces, notably Bengal and the Punjab, where Congress influence is very small and it is the height of impudence on the part of Congress leaders to ask the Muslims to line up with that organization. The Mussalmans, Mr. Jinnah rightly declared, are not going to be dictated to by anybody, nor are they prepared to become the camp-followers of the Congress.

14. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 7th January, considers Mr. Jinnah justified in complaining that the Congress is unnecessarily trying to interfere in Muslim affairs by setting up its candidates in opposition to those of the League. In paper's opinion the Congress is by its present behaviour strengthening the hands of the reactionaries.

(c) Federal High Court.

15. Referring to the appointment of a European as Chief Justice and a Hindu Barrister as Advocate-General of the Federal High Court, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 6th January, says that it is absolutely essential that Muslims should now receive their legitimate share in the personnel of the highest court in India which comes into existence from April next. There are, however, several Indian Muslims possessing legal talents of a very high order who are qualified in every way to adorn the bench of the Federal High Court, and it is eminently desirable to afford them an opportunity to contribute to the legal advance of the country. This is all the more necessary as there are questions of Muslim Law which have not yet been solved by the Privy Council and which can be tackled only by judges who have first hand knowledge of the original texts in Arabic.

16. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 9th January, also writes in the same strain.

(d) The Unionist Party.

17. Alluding to the statement of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan explaining the policy of the Punjab Unionist Party, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 7th January, observes that the critics of the Unionist Party demanded an authoritative statement from the leader of the Unionist Party and Sir Sikandar is to be congratulated giving a quietus to rumours which had been circulated with the deliberate intention of misrepresenting the policy of the largest and most influential political organization in the Province. As regards the Communal Award, the party's position is that the Award

should stand until Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and other communities are able by mutual agreement to devise an alternative scheme to replace the Award. This is the only position that could be taken up by the Unionist Party as the custodian of the interests of all the communities. That it will be guided in the acceptance of a substitute for the Communal Award, not by the views of its own members alone, but by the opinion of the Mussalman community as a whole is, however, made perfectly clear. As for Urdu, it will continue to enjoy its present position as the official vernacular of the Province, if the Unionists assumed power under the new Constitution. They propose no change in the *status quo*, "unless a change is agreed upon by the Province as a whole." As the Muslims of the Punjab are not prepared to acquiesce in any change in this connection under any circumstances, this question may be deemed to be closed. The question of Muslim representation in the Services is of vital importance to the community and the leaders of the Unionist Party has been well advised in removing all possible misunderstandings. The Unionist Party's position as regards the religion and culture of the different communities is perfectly sound. It will follow, we are told, a policy of safeguarding the fullest religious and cultural freedom for all communities.

17. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 7th January, the statement does not contain even a ray of hope for the minority communities. In the provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority they are never weary of laying down the principle that the first duty of a majority community is to win the confidence and support of minority communities. By a parity of reasoning it is incumbent on the Muslim majority in the Punjab to do everything in their power to win the confidence and support of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in this crucial matter. Not only are the members of the Unionist Party not prepared to do so of their own motion, but even if others take the initative in the matter they will take no step towards bringing about a settlement beyond placing the matter for consideration before their community and loyally carrying out its verdict. What is true of the communal decision is equally true of the status of Urdu as the official vernacular of the Province. The position is even worse with regard to the question of communal representation in the Services. It is interesting to observe that unlike the other two cases Sir Sikandar says nothing in this case to indicate that he and his party are willing to accept a change in the position if others take the initiative and the rest of their community are agreeable to that change. The only thing they magnanimously express their readiness to do is to offer their good offices for an adjustment of the shares of other communities after "at least 50 per cent. of the total" has been definitely earmarked for the Muslims. This offer has in the circumstances all the appearance of an insult added to injury. Lastly, as regards the issue of religious and cultural freedom itself, the position of the Unionist Party, as defined by its leader, is to say the least of it, sweetly vague. With a communal majority in the Legislature, in the Government and in the

Services, all talk of safeguarding the religious and cultural freedom of the minority communities would be pure moonshine, even if the constitution contained definite provisions guaranteeing to all citizens and all communties their fundamental rights, because those rights could be enforced only by an appeal to courts of law and the courts of law themselves would in the conditions referred to have strong communal bias.

18. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 8th January, says that the Unionist Party claims to be a non-communal party, but facts show that it is in reality a Muslim party which wants to govern the Punjab under the cover of non-communalism. Its leader Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan has presented it to the public in its naked form. Next the paper criticizes the Unionst Party's policy as explained by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and says that the Party's policy shows that under the new constitution all those innovations will continue which the British Government has introduced to win the sympathy of the Muslims. It also shows that the Unionist Party, on coming to power, will not prove useful for Hindus and Sikhs. They are, therefore, bent upon opposing this party.

19. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 8th January, remarks that Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan has completely dissociated himself from the movement of the restoration of the Shahidganj Mosque and his statement shows that he has got nothing to console Muslims in the matter. The paper is aware of Sir Sikandar's difficulties. His party is not a party of Muslims. If his party comes in power, it will not be a government of the majority of Muslims in the Punjab, but a government of those Sikhs and Hindus who will constitute the backbone of his party's ministry. The persons, therefore, who will take even a single step to bring the Unionist Party into power, will in reality be guilty of digging the grave of the prestige of the Muslims in the Punjab.

III—INDIAN STATES.

(a) Kashmir and Chitral.

20. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 2nd January, is sorry that certain people of Kashmir, who wish to see some agitation going on in the State, requested the Prime Minister that annexation of Chitral to Kashmir may be made a condition precedent to its inclusion in Federation and that the son of the Maharaja of Kashmir be designated as the "Prince of Chitral". The idea seems to have been suggested by the retrocession of Berar to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. But Chitral is quite a separate State on the border of India. The demand for its annexation with Kashmir is as stupid and unacceptable as the demand for the annexation of British territories with Kashmir.

21. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 5th January, says that the "Kashmir Times" confirms the report published by a section of the vernacular press that a deputation of certain Kashmir State subjects, including some Muslims had waited upon Col. Colvin with

a memorial requesting that as a price for the Kashmir Government's adhesion to the proposed All-India Federation H. H. the Maharaja should stipulate that Chitral should be placed under his control and that his son should in future be designated as "Prince of Chitral". The aforesaid paper, however, thinks that the heir-apparent of Kashmir may be designated "Prince of Gilgit Agency" and that the Maharaja's assent may also be required for the appointment of the Administrator of the Gilgit Agency. The *Eastern Times* does not know whether the Government of India would agree to this concession if pressed by the Maharaja, but in its opinion to suggest that the Kashmir Government has any claim to Chitral is as absurd as it is mischievous. Whatever their relations at one time, Chitral now stands on the same footing as Kashmir.

(b) Muslims in the Chamba State.

22. The *Pilot* (Amritsar) on the 3rd January, is sorry that in the Chamba State the Muslims have no representation in State services, and are being denied even the civic rights. They are in one way or the other being deprived of their religious freedom also. Naturally the Muslims are showing their great concern in this respect. The paper requests the ruler of the State to intervene and investigate personally the grievances of the Muslims thereby diminishing the risks of the situation becoming out of control.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

Nil.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

The 9th January, 1937.

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No. 3.

Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 16th January, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Turko-French Dispute.

1. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 10th January, affirms that no impartial observer, who has studied the Franco-Turkish quarrel over the Sanjak of Alexandretta and Antioch, can deny the reasonableness of the Turkish claim. Alexandretta and Antioch belong economically, culturally and historically to Turkey. The population of the two districts is overwhelmingly Turkish, the principal language spoken is Turkish. The area in which they are situated is of considerable strategic importance, especially as an outlet to Turkey on the eastern Mediterranean border, the former city being the only commercial outlet for Southern Turkey and the terminus of the overland trade route from Iran and Hindustan, a position which it has occupied from time immemorial. And finally the security of the Turkish railway system and the protection of her frontiers depends on the Sanjak of Alexandretta.

2. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 14th January, remarks that the feverish haste employed by France in creating a disturbance in Antioch has exposed her artfulness and cunning. It is quite inconcievable that the Turks and Arabs, who have never quarrelled with each other in Antioch, should come into clash at a time when both of these nations are actuated by the true spirit of liberating their countries from the abominable grip of Western land-grabbers. The paper condemns the present disgraceful and mean move on the part of France.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) Lancashire and India.

3. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 15th January, cannot congratulate the Chairman of the Indian section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on his diagnosis of the causes of decline in Lancashire's piece-goods trade with India. The chief reason for the fall in British textile trade in this country, according to the paper, is the high price of Lancashire cloth and the lowered purchasing power of the Indian masses. Mr. Campbell's statement that "excessive protection" of the Indian cotton mill industry, and not Japanese competition, is responsible for the fall of British imports of cloth into India is not only wrong but misleading. He contradicts himself out of his own mouth when he says that in the current year Indian imports of cotton textiles from Japan exceeded those from the United Kingdom. When Japan has exported more cloth to this country than Britain, it is clear that Britain cannot compete with Japan in this trade, despite the huge protection afforded under the Indian tariff to British goods. It is equally patent that the fall in British trade is not due to the so-called excessive protection of the indigenous industry. The remedy for the decline is in the hands of Lancashire manufacturers themselves. They should follow the example of Japan in closely studying the changing needs

of Indians and charge lower prices for their goods, if they can. In the face of Mr. Campbell's own admission, at all events, the Government of India cannot be a party to a further reduction of the duty on British goods without betraying the interests of the country.

(b) Communal Settlement in Bengal.

4. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 10th January, is glad to learn that the settlement arrived at between the Muslim leaders and the anti-Communal Award League of the Hindus of Bengal has been welcomed by prominent sons of Bengal. In paper's opinion the new settlement is calculated to put an end to communal discord and should be welcome to all patriotically-minded Indians. The conclusion of a pact on the lines of the Bengal Settlement is eminently desirable in the Punjab and prominent members of all communities ought to bend their energies in this direction.

5. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 10th January, believes that the present agreement can never lead to lasting peace or harmony between the two communities. From the national point of view the root of the whole trouble in Bengal, as in other parts of India, is the spirit of communalism that is abroad and the embodiment of that spirit is communal representation in the Legislatures, in local bodies and in the Services. As long as this spirit and its embodiment will remain, the trouble itself will continue whether in one form or another. In order that any agreement between the communities may have an abiding value, it must either scrap communal representation immediately or must contain definite provisions calculated to do away with it at a reasonably early date. The present agreement does not fulfil either of these conditions. The utmost that can be said for it is that by easing the communal tension it may create the necessary atmosphere for an attempt to bring about a permanent settlement on the only lines on which such a settlement is possible. At present such an atmosphere is admittedly wanting. But if the agreement is to serve even this limited purpose, one thing is absolutely essential. Sir A. H. Ghuznavi must not insist on the cessation of all agitation against the Award. The agitation against the Award on national, as distinguished from communal grounds, cannot and must not cease. It is the one means by which the rejection of the Communal Award can be brought about and the way can be paved to the final solution of the communal problem and the establishment of permanent peace.

6. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 12th January, says that whole India is rejoicing that the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal have arrived at an agreement in regard to the communal problem which will put an end to the agitation over the Communal Award. If the Hindus and Muslims needed such an ordinary agreement to sink their communal differences why did they wait for so long a time? The agreement has exposed the Hindus' nationalism

threadbare. It contains a provision for the solution of the question of Ministries and Services. It appears that the Hindus of Bengal were raising a hue and cry simply for Ministries and Services. The paper suspects that there is probably some secret hand working behind the screen. At first the Indian communities were fighting among themselves because the secret of the success of the designs of British statesmen lay in the disunity of the Indians. But now reconciliation is being brought about because without it the new Constitution cannot be made a success and the greed of those who are hankering after Ministries and offices cannot be satisfied.

7. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 14th January, the agreement is nothing short of an abject surrender to Muslim communalists. The poison of Communalism, says the paper, has been injected into the body politic and is paralysing the whole Constitution. Legislators are already communally-minded, and it is now the turn of the Bengal services to be similarly infected with the virus. Congressmen are responsible for this, but they will not admit it. They have welcomed the settlement in the hope that the Communal Award will be changed after ten years.

8. The *Milap* (Lahore) of the 13th January, considers the agreement an auspicious one inasmuch as it has paved the way for future negotiations between the two communities. The paper is glad that Hindus and Muslims have realized the necessity of ending the present deplorable state of affairs and have become prepared to follow the right path.

9. According to the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 13th January, the agreement is harmful not only to Hindus but India as a whole. It is strange that the Congress, which declares before the world that it is sending its members to the Legislatures to wreck the new Constitution, is prepared to accept an agreement the object of which is to make the Constitution a success.

(c) The Congress and the forthcoming Session of the Assembly.

10. Referring to the reply given by the Law Member and Leader of the Assembly, to the request contained in Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's letter to him, that the forthcoming session of the Assembly might commence on or about the 20th February, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 12th January, says that Mr. Bhulabhai's letter was couched not only in courteous but friendly terms and contained a definite offer of co-operation. The Government's reply is a flat refusal of a request which was certainly entitled to a sympathetic treatment, even if it could not be actually complied with. In the whole letter there is not a word of appreciation of the point of view represented by the Leader of the Opposition and this in spite of the fact that it was a point of view which ought to have appealed strongly to a Government which is never weary of asking the country to make the election under the new Constitution a success. The reply could not, indeed, have been couched in a different form of words

if instead of asking for facilities for participating in the election the Opposition had held out the threat of non-co-operation.

11. According to the *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 13th January, the Government's decision not to postpone the session of the Assembly is extremely condemnable. It is indeed a clever move on the part of the Government. If the Congressmen attend the session their election campaign would suffer and if they keep away the official demands would be granted.

12. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 15th January, writes that the winter session of the Assembly was fixed with regard to the fact that Government has to get its General and Railway Budgets through both Houses of the Legislature before 31st March. This consideration is the main reason for Government's refusal to postpone the opening date, but the paper thinks that Government might have exhibited a spirit of compromise and have met Congress half way. One week's postponement would probably have satisfied the Congress leaders, for by that time practically all the electioneering would have been finished. It is certain that the blank refusal of Government to yield even a single day will be made a great point by Congress speakers when addressing electors, and may entail the loss of votes, even of a seat or two, for the parties who ordinarily oppose the Congress in the Assembly.

(d) Pandit Jawahar Lal's Rejoinder to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

13. Alluding to the reply given by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to Mr. M. A. Jinnah's recent speech in Calcutta, in which he took strong exception both to the Pandit's remark that "essentially there were only two parties in the country, namely, the Government and the Congress," and to the action of the Congress in setting up a number of candidates in Muslim constituencies in opposition to the Muslim League candidates, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 14th January, observes that Pandit Jawahar Lal is on unassailable ground when he says that in the final analysis there are only two forces in India, British imperialism and Indian nationalism and that in this conflict the Congress stands for Indian nationalism and is thus charged with historic destiny. Although the Congress undoubtedly stands for Indian nationalism and eventually all organizations or parties in India, that are not on the side of British imperialism must line up with it, that stage can only be reached by the Congress making a far more vigorous, consistent and sustained attempt to bring the whole of political India under its active leadership than it has made so far. Till this stage is reached there will necessarily remain other parties in India independent both of British imperialism and of the Congress, though in some cases more or less closely allied to one or the other. Among such parties to-day are the Liberal Federation, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Unionist Party in the Punjab, the National Agricultural party in the United Provinces, the Praja Party in Bengal, the Akali Party among the Sikhs and the *Justice* Party in Madras. The only point where the paper wants to

join issue with Pandit Jawahar Lal is as regards his statement that Mr. Jinnah's demand bears a strong family likeness to Bhai Parmanand's demand. Historically as well as logically Bhai Parmanand only represents and is the mouthpiece of the reaction produced in a large section of the Hindu community by the aggressive demands of Muslim communalism and the repeated attempts made by the Congress to come to terms with that communalism. What Bhai Parmanand says in effect is that either the Congress should ignore communalism altogether and proceed in its endeavours as a strictly national and non-communal body, or it should allow the Hindus to organize themselves just as the Muslims have organized themselves and then seek to bring them together or come to terms with both. Similarly, as regards the election itself Bhai Parmanand's position seems to be that the Congress should treat the General and the Muslim constituencies on the same footing. Whatever view one may take of this demand it is clearly neither right nor just to represent Mr. Jinnah as having taken his cue from Bhai Parmanand. The truth is just the other way about.

14. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 13th Jarnuary, agrees with Pandit Jawahar Lal that the Muslim League does not represent the whole Muslim community. But in his Calcutta speech Mr. Jinnah had not advanced any definite claim that the League was the only body which represented the Muslim community throughout India. All he meant was that a vast majority of politically-minded Mussalmans in Bengal belonged to the Muslim League party. This claim being absolutely correct, Mr. Jinnah was perfectly justified in protesting against Congress interference in the affairs of Bengal where it does not enjoy the confidence of Muslim voters. As for the League President's demand that the Congress should let the Muslims alone, even the sophistries of Pandit Nehru cannot make Muslims believe that the Congress represents the masses of Muslims. Congress leaders seem to have hypnotized themselves into the suggestion that essentially there are only two parties in the country, namely, the Government and the Congress. Mr. Nehru repeats the assertion once more in his reply to Mr. Jinnah. He claims to know more about the hunger, the poverty and the misery of the Muslim masses than "those who talk in terms of percentages and seats in Councils and places in State service." It is all very well to indulge in tall talk like this. The question is, what has the Congress actually done to mitigate the sufferings of the masses ?

15. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 16th January, says that the most interesting remark made by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is that the Congress represents the Muslim masses. But the question arises what it has so far done for them. How many colleagues of the Pandit have in them the courage of moving their finger to save the poor Muslim peasants from the clutches of Sahukars and Mahajans. The days are gone when the Muslim masses used to be taken in by the sweet-sounding words of the Congress leaders. Does not the Pandit and his colleagues know that the Muslims have, as a community, severed their connection with the Congress ?

(e) Paid Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University.

16. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 14th January, congratulates His Excellency the Chancellor of the Punjab University on the personal interest evinced by him in the question of the Vice-Chancellorship. In paper's opinion the salary of Rs. 3,000 proposed by the Syndicate is open to serious objection, particularly when the Syndicate has expressed the inability of the University to bear in whole or in part the cost of the provision for a Vice-Chancellor from its present or prospective sources of income. In paper's opinion the salary should not be more than Rs. 2,000 inclusive of all allowances.

17. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 14th January, cannot congratulate either the Chancellor of the Punjab University on his suggestion that the University should have a paid Vice-Chancellor or the Syndicate on the extraordinary readiness with which it has accepted the suggestion. In the first place, whether the post be honorary or paid, a qualified man ought to be appointed Vice-Chancellor. Secondly, there is no reason why the practice that has been in vogue for so long a time of having honorary Vice-Chancellors should be departed from, at any rate for as long a time as the present conditions of University education in the province continue. If either the University or the Government have spare money, let them utilize it in the expansion and improvement of University education itself and not in providing the University with the comparative luxury of a paid Vice-Chancellor. Thirdly, even if the existing practice is to be discarded and a paid Vice-Chancellor appointed, the salary should on no account exceed Rs. 1,500 or at the outside Rs. 2,000. Fourthly, in the event of the province being saddled with the cost of a paid Vice-Chancellor, steps should be taken as early as practicable to provide for the election of the Vice-Chancellor in place of the present system of nomination. Fifthly and lastly, the tenure of office of the Vice-Chancellor should under no circumstances exceed two years, though, of course, there may be provision for re-appointment or re-election, as the case may be.

18. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 15th January, fully agrees with the proposal that there should be a paid, wholetime incumbent of this important and onerous post, but it certainly does not agree with the idea that the tax-payer should be saddled with the cost. Higher education is rightly considered a luxury in other countries ; those who want luxuries are generally expected to pay for them. Whatever money the tax payer can spare for educational purposes should be devoted entirely to primary and technical institutions, and the good old British way of leaving university education to be supported by private benefactions and the fees of students ought to be the rule in India.

19. According to the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 15th January, the proposal to have a paid Vice-Chancellor is really very useful, because in that case the man appointed to the post will be able to

devote his whole time to the betterment and improvement of the University. The Syndicate has expressed its inability to pay so heavy a salary. In these circumstances it is advisable that the existing arrangement may continue and the honorary services of some able and experienced educationalist may be secured.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) Alleged robbing of Sindis by Russians near Bukhara.

20. Alluding to the statement issued to the Press by a few Sindis in Shikarpur alleging that on their way to India through Bukhara they were so completely robbed of their belongings by the Bolsheviks that they had left no food to eat and no clothes to cover their bodies with, the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 10th January, says that if the allegation is based on facts one cannot help deploring the negligence on the part of the Government of India. If similar incident had happened to an Englishman, the British Government would have raised a storm of protest and would have known no rest until the Soviet Government had practically made amends for the wrong. The paper hopes the Government of India will invite the attention of the Soviet Government to the incident at an early date through the Home Government.

(b) Conviction of Munshi Ahmad Din and Sodhi Pindi Das.

21. Commenting upon the sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment each passed under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code on Munshi Ahmad Din and Sodhi Pindi Das by the Additional District Magistrate of Jullundur, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 15th January, says that it has not the text of the judgment in the case before it at the time of writing, but even if the accused have been rightly convicted, the sentence passed against them by the Magistrate appears to be too heavy for the offence with which they were charged. Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code is a very drastic section; and therefore, as far as possible, it should be interpreted in a liberal spirit in favour of the accused persons and not to their detriment.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,

The 16th January, 1937. *Punjab Civil Secretariat.*

129 PB—123—21-1-37—SGPP Lahore.

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No. 4.

Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 23rd January, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Indo-British Trade.

1. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 21st January, points out that even the Manchester Chamber has come round to the opinion that a *quid pro quo* agreement would be the only solution if true reciprocity is to be observed. That fiscal heresy euphemistically called "Discriminating Protection" must, in the opinion of the paper, be recanted if a true "give-and-take" principle is to be observed in British trade relations with India. Under the old heretical principle, British textile and iron and steel interests have been granted preferential treatment far in excess of what is warranted by considerations of the interests of the Indian consumer or Indian industrial development. It must be insisted upon that the basic principle to be observed is that Indian industry shall be given healthy protection with a view to its development. Doubtless this means the restriction of all imports from any country which competes with our own manufactures. Britain has no cause to cavil at such a policy. The paper thinks that if Britain only agreed to a really reciprocal trade pact by which Indian raw materials would be set off against British goods which India does not attempt to manufacture, the *quid pro quo* principle advocated by the Manchester Chamber would materialize.

2. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 21st January, observes that Lancashire is naturally anxious to capture as much of India's foreign trade as possible. It pleads for an effective *quid pro quo* in the matter of tariff treatment of the British cotton goods. It is trying to influence the British Government in this behalf. But one thing, declares the paper, is clear. India can be no party to subordinating her own economic and fiscal interests to those of any other country of the world. Therefore the trade negotiations between India and England should, as stated by the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce, be "free from all political domineering which the United Kingdom is tempted to exercise in the interests of its own industrial interests."

3. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 22nd January, refers to the remarks made in the High Commissioner's report that the cheap rates of the Japanese and German stuff have adversely affected the popularity of the expensive British manufactures and points out that the future of the British trade in India is certainly not bright. People have ceased to have a liking for British goods. In case war breaks out the result will be that the Japanese and German manufactures will not remain so cheap as at present. If this happens Indians will surely get inclined towards the purchase of indigenous articles.

(b) Mr. Eden's Speech.

4. According to the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 22nd January, the British policy as enunciated by Mr. Eden in a recent speech on the Spanish situation is not going to prove very helpful in the long

run. The paper points out that it is for Britain to decide what other, policy would be effective. But one cannot help thinking that if the British Government, instead of pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of non-intervention through interminable negotiations, had taken up a strong attitude and insisted on a strict observance of non-intervention by all the powers, most of the sufferings of the Spaniards could have been averted and the dangerous situation that now threatens the whole of Europe would have never been allowed to arise.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) The Bengal Nagpur Railway Strike.

5. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 23rd January observes that the effects of the Bengal Nagpur Railway strike are being felt in far and distant quarters as is borne out by the scarcity of coal. Should it persist a little longer and the authorities show obstinacy there is an apprehension on the part of other Railway workers also going on strike in sympathy with those of the B. N. Railway. The paper advises the Railway authorities to try to save themselves from horrible possibilities and have the strike ended amicably as soon as possible.

6. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 23rd January is of opinion that as the strike has already done harm to the workers as well as the Railway administration every effort should be made to bring about a peaceful settlement. The paper hopes that as the result of Giri-Jarrad interview, the differences between the two parties will be reconciled, and that the workers will be able to resume work at the earliest possible moment.

(b) New powers for the Secretary of State to raise loans for the Government of India.

7. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 23rd January, refers to the new White Paper issued by the British Government, the object of which is that the Secretary of State for India should be invested with the power to raise loans for the Government of India and asks why should this power not be vested in the Government of India itself? The British statesmen are, in its opinion, trying to show clearly that the new Constitution is a mere farce under which India will have absolutely no control over her fiscal policy. What is proper is that further loans for the Government of India should be raised with the sanction of the Indian Legislature and from India.

(c) Princes and Federation.

8. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 17th January, refers to the prolonged deliberations of the Hydari Committee with indecisive results and points out that this is a sharp reminder to all concerned of the very difficult position in which the British Government have placed themselves by making statutory provision for an all-India Federation with the Princes as a component part of it without first making

sure that the Princes are going to join the Federation. In the opinion of the paper, the whole scheme is so hybrid and unnatural that it cannot possibly stand the test of time or experience. The refusal of the Princes to join the Federation would only precipitate a crisis that is inevitable in any case. Sooner or later, sooner rather than later, the British Government will be compelled either to give India a true federation, a federation not of so-called autonomous provinces with autocratic Princes, but of free provinces with free States, or they will have to give full responsible Government to British India itself and to confer on it all the rights and privileges *vis-a-vis* the Princes which are now exercised by the Government of India on behalf of the Crown. The sooner both the British Government and the Princes realize the folly and the shortsightedness of their present attitude and begin to look at the problem of India's future constitution from a new angle of vision the better both for themselves and for India.

(d) Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's Punjab Tour.

9. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 20th January, says that if the mass meetings addressed by Pandit Jawahar Lal mean anything at all, they mean that Congress candidates will have ample support from townspeople and Government servants. If even now, Congress candidates fail, it will be because no personal canvassing has been done. Non-Congress candidates have been more active in that respect and they have secured enough support. The message that the Congress President delivered to the Punjab had a pessimistic note. His attempt to blame the Hindu Mahasabha for the Burdwan-Ghaznavi Pact is, to say the least, untrue, and is in extremely bad taste. The paper's reading of the situation is that, in spite of all the the speeches of Pandit Jawahar Lal, the elections will be decided not by rhetoric, but by common sense, and personalities will decide the final issue.

10. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 22nd January, remarks that the speeches made by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in the course of his tour dealt with a number of subjects of vital importance to the people, but all his perorations were directed to exhorting his audience to vote for candidates set up by Congress. So far as the Muslims are concerned, they regard both the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress as communal organizations. Pandit Jawahar Lal's claim of having a large body of Muslim followers, is belied by the fact that not more than a dozen candidates have been set up by the Congress in Muslim electorates in the whole of India. If the Congress had the solid backing of the Muslims, it would have contested every seat from the Muslim electorate.

(e) Pandit Malaviya's Punjab tour.

11. Writing to the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 24th January, Krishna thinks that the great insult that has been hurled at Amritsar against the sacred and noble personality of Pandit Malaviya is one that will not make a true Hindu raise his head out of shame,

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

Congress and Elections.

18. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 23rd January, refers to the assaults on Congressmen at different places in India during the election campaign and urges that all cases of assault should be vigorously investigated and if the investigation reveals the existence of organised goondaism, an organized effort should be made to stamp it out. The paper calls upon the Government to create conditions conducive to the free exercise of his choice by the voter.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,

The 23rd January, 1937. *Punjab Civil Secretariat.*

130 PB—123—28-1-3—SGPP Lahore.

D.I.G/A.D.I.G.

5.2.37

5/2/37

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4.2.37.

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Distribution No. 55

No. 5.

Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 30th January, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) The Alexandretta Agreement.

1. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 27th January, refers to the recent tension between France and Turkey over the future status of Alexandretta and Antioch, and remarks that the compromise now adopted at Geneva in this connection concedes to a considerable extent the proposals put forward by Turkey. It hopes that the Turks will accept the proposed compromise for the time being, and come to terms with Syrian Arabs at some future time, without the interference of France. In its issue of the 29th January, the paper observes that it is a matter of great satisfaction that, after all the alarums and excursions which characterized the negotiations between France and Turkey regarding the future status of the Sanjak, a final settlement has been arrived at and the great firmness shown by the latter has carried the day.

2. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 30th January, the Turkish point of view has been substantially accepted by the League Council. But this fact is not of so much importance as the fact that a quarrel between two friends has ended.

(b) The New Moscow Trial.

3. Adverting to the trial of seventeen men at Moscow, the *Tribune* of the 26th January, avers that it is difficult to believe that Trotsky, one of the builders of Communist Russia, has been ceaselessly trying with the help of his friends to destroy the Soviet administrative fabric. But the Stalin Government has more than once made this the basis of prosecution of those who have happened to incur its displeasure. It has already disposed of some of the prominent men it did not like. The fact is that the party in power in Russia is suffering from Trotskyphobia. It is apparently using stray cases of espionage, sabotage and intrigue as an excuse to carry on its vendetta against its political opponents.

4. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 28th January, the present trial bears too sinister a resemblance to the Zinoviev-Kumanev trial to have any significance. It would be better for Stalin to change, for once, the hackneyed story of capitalistic plots in which Trotsky is always the villain. It is a wonder how Trotsky is allowed to wander on earth to hatch more plots against Stalin and Co. He could be easily "bumped off"; the method is not unknown to the experienced Soviet ruler. One theory fantastic as it seems, is that Trotsky lives on Stalin's sufferance. He always comes handy whenever some more of the persons who might become dangerous to Stalin are to be "liquidated" In other words, the guillotine of the Russian revolution still works.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) Report on the Working of Indian Railways for the year 1935-36.

5. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 27th January, refers to the report on the working of Indian Railways for the year 1935 36, and observes that it records a very slight improvement in earnings. It is true that the railways should be worked on a commercial basis ; but that does not mean that the interests of the people should be ignored. There is absolutely no justification for the railways to keep their rates high in those areas in which they either hold a monopoly or are not afraid of any competition.

6. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 28th January, says that the Railway Board report on the working of Indian Railways in 1935-36 is hardly exhilarating reading. As agricultural conditions during the year were on the whole good and trade showed signs of revival, it was reasonable to expect that the railways would be able to balance their budget, but there is a total deficit of nearly 4 crore rupees. Whatever satisfaction may be derived from the fact that the deficit was about a crore less than the previous year, the position is most disquieting. A thoroughgoing overhaul of railway expenditure is, therefore, of vital importance. This should be taken in hand with the least possible delay, the reluctance of higher railway officials notwithstanding.

7. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 30th January, avers that whenever the question of meeting the deficit arises the Railway authorities cannot think of any scheme except that of effecting reduction in the subordinate staff. But so long as the number of high officers and their salaries are not reduced, no scheme can prove of any avail. If the Railway Department is not prepared to afford greater facilities to people, there is no likelihood of the railways becoming popular with them.

(b) Income-tax Enquiry Committee Report.

8. Commenting on the Income-tax Enquiry Committee Report which has just been published, the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 28th January, remarks that the perusal of the Report serves to convince one that the sole object of the Committee has been to show how Government can get more revenue from this obnoxious tax, and there is scarcely any indication that the Committee had any concern for the honest tax-payers, or the relief of the poorer classes of assessees. For instance, the Committee has not dealt fairly with the assessment of the ordinary family man, and no proposals whatsoever are made for allowances for wife's and children's maintenance, education and so forth, such as are made under the English system. In its issue of the 29th, the paper says that although among the most thrifty and deserving of the assessees to Income-tax are surely pensioners and recipients of Provident Fund income, yet the Committee would tax their miserable incomes. But to tax such incomes is akin to sheer robbery.

9. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 29th January, some of the proposals are calculated to effect revolutionary alterations and will obviously take some time before their meaning is fully grasped by the classes concerned. The "slab" system of taxation, for instance, which is to replace the "step" system now applied to income, is not easily intelligible to many people. The suggestion is, however, not only perfectly sound but eminently just. The recommendation that a wife's income should be treated as her husband's income, except when derived from her own exertions is not only revolutionary but palpably unjust and quite reactionary. It is opposed to modern ideas and runs counter to the teaching of Islam, which permits the wife to own property separate from her husband and enjoy independent sources of income. The Government will be well advised not to take any action on the Report until public opinion has been elicited.

10. In the issue of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of 30th January, Professor Brij Narain expresses the opinion that the proposed "slab" system would be a decided improvement on the existing "step" system. Another correspondent Rai Bahadur Binda Saran characterises the "slab system" a welcome relief but trusts that Government of India will not accept the recommendation that the agricultural income of an assessee should be taken into account in fixing the amount of tax payable on his other income. In his opinion, the finding that the domestic arrangement of an assssee need not be taken into account in computing the amount of the tax payable by him is unjust. He sees no justification for the continuance of the present position whereby a man with an income of, say, Rs. 10,000, but with no wife or children, pays only the same amount of tax as a man with a similar income but with a wife to support and children to educate.

11. The *Hindu* (Lahore) of the 31st January, remarks that it is ridiculous that while allowances are granted to the married people in Germany, Italy and other foreign countries, fines by way of income-tax are imposed on them in India.

(c) Report of the Punjab Irrigation Research Institute.

12. The *Daily Hereld* (Lahore) of the 24th January, alludes to the Report of the Punjab Irrigation Research Institute for the year ending last April and remarks that it deserves careful study by all who are interested in the welfare of the Punjab. The Director, Dr. E. McKenzie Taylor, gives valuable details regarding the research work in the various sections of the Institute. The Institute has not worked for the Punjab alone ; much advisory work has been undertaken for other Governments in connexion with both irrigation works and water supply.

13. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 27th January, points out that the report clearly admits that none of the methods hitherto tried to prevent waterlogging of land has proved entirely successful. The

problem is now being attacked in a new way in the Institute. But the experiments made in this connexion are yet of a preliminary nature. The paper hopes that these efforts will not be relaxed till an effective method of controlling seepage is actually found, for, on that depends the prosperity of the Punjab.

(d) Elections and disciplinary action against Congressmen.

14. Writing to the *Partap* (Lahore) of the 25th January on the subject of disciplinary action against Congressites, Krishna says that the Congress authorities are ousting Congressmen from the Congress in the name of discipline and are thus making themselves the laughing-stock of the world. It is reasonable to enquire why the Congress president does not take disciplinary action against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who is supporting nationalist candidates against Congress ones.

15. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 2?th January is of opinion that by insisting on the enforcement of discipline against Congressmen, the Congress leaders are making co-operation difficult, if not impossible, among Congressmen themselves. In its issue of the 30th January that paper points out the if in his enthusiasm to enforce discipline at any cost, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru accepts the ill-advised suggestion made to him to use his rod of discipline against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, he will not only alienate the sympathy of a large body of Congressmen and Congresswomen, but do a great injury to the cause of the Congress.

(e) Alleged assaults on Congressmen in United Provinces and Bihar.

16. Referring to the shooting down of two Congress volunteers in a village in the district of Pilibhit, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 24th January, remarks that in the public opinion it is a serious case of political assassination. The police, however, do not agree and say it is a simple case of dacoity attended by bloodshed. The paper cannot attach much importance to the police theory and calls it a *Jadid* theory. It hopes that the United Provinces Government will tell the police to keep aside their theory and start a vigorous, impartial enquiry.

17. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 29th January, says that so long as the culprits are not traced out and brought to justice, people will go on becoming firm in their belief that these murders are the result of elections and that the men of the Raja of Pilibhit have committed them. The condition in United Provinces and Bihar has grown worse, and the opponents of the Congress have begun to resort to mean tactics. Such rowdyism, however, cannot succeed aganist the Congress. The Government ought to check it not for the sake of the Congress, but for the sake of the maintenance of peace.

(f) Telephones in rural areas.

18. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore), of the 24th January, cannot congratulate the Standing Finance Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly on the way in which it has set the seal of its approval on the expenditure proposed by the Posts and Telegraphs Department for the development of telephones. The paper points out that despite the unanimity with which Professor Roberts' resolution in this connexion was carried in the last session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce a very small amount of money appears to have been allotted for the provision of telephones in rural areas.

(g) Elections in the Punjab.

19. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 25th January, remarks that the acute stage of Election Fever in the Punjab is over; and the proposition of wrecking the new Constitution in the province is certainly ruled out. Congressmen can make their presence felt only if they are able to form alliances with non-Congressmen. The paper will welcome the formation of a strong Opposition in the Punjab Assembly to keep the Government al rt an keep the attention of the House focussed on the problems of hunger and want of the teeming millions and will also welcome the return of a good number of Congressmen to the Punjab Assembly with that object.

20. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of 28th January, remarks that as the Punjab is supposed to be stuck up in the mud of communalism and to have little sympathy with the Congress, the elections have this time been started from this province, so that the Punjab news may have an adverse effect on the elections in other provinces. But what has actually happened has belied the expectations of the Government. The news of the Congress victory are pouring in from every corner of the Punjab where the Congress is supposed to have only little influence The success of the Congress in the elections has borne out the claim of the Congress President that he represents the poverty and hunger of the Hindus and Mussalmans alike and the message of the Punjab has infused a new spirit into the whole country.

21. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 27th January, says that *purdah* has not prevented the women of Lahore from exercising freely the right of franchise conferred on them by the new constitution. Hundreds of them, wearing veils, visited the polling booths and recorded their votes. The fact that over 60 per cent. women voters went to the polls at Lahore, disproves the assertion of those who hold that our ladies are generally averse to exercising the franchise even if it is given to them.

22. In the opinion of the *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 30th January, the Muslim women voters of Lahore have made it amply clear that Muslim women have the desire as well as the fitness for participating in politics. Muslims should now direct this awakening among women into right channels, so that it may prove conducive to the national progress.

III.—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) Ban on proposed Inter-University Debate at Aligarh on the abdication of ex-King Edward.

23. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 29th January, refers to the ban placed by the Nizam of Hyderabad in his capacity as Chancellor of the Aligarh University on the inter-university debate that had been arranged by the Aligarh Students Union on the question of the abdication of ex-King Edward, and asks why students should be debarred from discussing important questions even in an academic spirit when the subject of the debate had received the approval of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and other University authorities and more than fourteen institutions from different parts of India had already intimated their desire to participate in it. The paper says that it is stated that it is the first occasion on which the Nizam has intervened in the internal affairs of the Students' Union. But his intervention was quite uncalled for. No wonder the Union authorities are thinking of resigning as a protest against this order of the Chancellor of the University.

(b) Feeding of Haj pilgrims.

24. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 30th January, Sir G. S. Bajpai's statement in the Assembly in regard to the feeding arrangements on board Haj pilgrim ships is hardly calculated to satisfy the Muslim community. The feeding arrangements have been entrusted to a single company which does not pay due attention to the tastes and kinds of food consumed by men from different provinces. The food served to pilgrims is far from good. What is needed is to provide food suited to the needs of pilgrims belonging to different provinces.

(c) Visit of Egyptian Delegation to the Punjab.

25. Commenting on the visit of the Egyptian Delegation of the Jamia Azhar to India, the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 28th January, observes that in the opinion of Egypt Arabic should become the connecting-link between different Islamic countries. But this can be achieved only if professors whose mother language is Arabic, impart the knowledge of Arabic to Muslims. The Jamia is prepared to send Arabic scholars to India for this purpose and to meet their partial expenses.

26. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 30th January, 1937, strongly emphasises the view expressed by the Egyptian Delegation that Muslim institutions should impart not only religious but secular instruction as well. The paper is glad to learn that the Jamia Azhar has made provisions in its curriculum for the teaching of foreign languages in addition to English and French. It suggests that the Jamia should now take up the task of compiling Islamic Jurisprudence and convene a conference of Muslim *Ulema* of the world for this purpose.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

The 30th January, 1937.

131 PB—123—4 2.37—SGPP Lahore.

D.I.G. / A.D.I.G.

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No. 6.

Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 6th February, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Germany and Europe.

1. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 3rd February, refers to Herr Hitler's re-election as President of the Reichstag and remarks that this will have a far-reaching effect on the European politics. Germany will now face Europe as a more united and powerful country whose co-operation will be absolutely indispensable for the maintenance of peace. Under Herr Hitler's regime, Germany will be able to demand with a greater force from Europe a reply to the question as to what right others have to capture new territories when her own dominions are not being restored to her.

2. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 3rd February, says that definite proposals for re-adjustment of those vital questions which are disturbing the minds of international statesmen were entirely absent from Hitler's speech, which simply boils down to glorification of the might of a Germany which has been the forerunner in the race for rearmament and veiled defiance of the rest of the world. The assertion that "Peace is now Germany's dearest treasure" is but empty verbiage. If that be the real situation, Germany will have to abandon vague rhetorical generalities for precise suggestions how that peace may be given a solid and enduring foundation.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) The New Year's Honours List.

3. Criticizing certain features of the New Year's Honours List the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 2nd February, observes that it is very rarely that men who serve with devotion and distinction the cause of art and literature or the cause of science are honoured. There may be names of some such men in this year's list. These true benefactors of society are lost in the crowd of self-seekers and it is difficult to find them out and congratulate them.

(b) The Railway Enquiry Committee.

4. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 5th February, refers to the feelings of indignation expressed by certain members of the Indian Legislative Assembly when the supplementary grants for Railways came up for consideration before the House and enquires what Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan has to say to this severe criticism of the action of the Government in a matter in which Indian opinion feels so keenly. Alluding to the fact that no Indian was appointed on the Committee, the Railway Member said "No political questions were involved in the matter for investigation." But when Railways are a great national asset, when crores and crores of rupees are invested in them and when on their prosperity to a great extent depends the prosperity of the country it is wrong to imagine that Indians attach less importance to questions affecting the welfare of the railways than they do to political questions. Sir M. Zafrullah

said that in the composition of the Committee the question of "Indians *versus* anybody else" did not arise. But there is certainly no harm in consulting outside expert opinion, and that does not mean that our own experts should be altogether ignored. As a matter of fact the work of the outside experts is facilitated if they are associated with those who are fully acquainted with local problems and local conditions.

5. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 5th February, the debate on the composition, terms of reference and expenditure of the Railway Enquiry Committee should serve as an eye-opener to Government. Lord Linlithgow and his advisers, the paper remarks, have of late initiated the policy of calling in foreign experts, to the exclusion of Indians, for the purpose of investigating Indian problems, a policy which is viewed with the greatest apprehension, if not distrust, by the political classes in this country. A vigorous protest against this was voiced in the Assembly by all the Indian non-officials who took part in the debate, and what is again remarkable, was the fact that among the loudest to raise their voices against the procedure were men who generally vote on the side of Government. It was suggested in the course of the debate by the Railway Member that no Indian expert on Railways was available in India. This is not only contrary to the facts but constitutes the gravest indictment of British rule in this country as well as an insult to the capacity of Indians. Sir P. R. Rau has been Financial Adviser to the Railway Board for years past and despite his anti-Muslim bias, his authority as an expert on Railway finance was acknowledged by Sir George Schuster, the last Finance Member of the Government of India. Sir P. R. Rau, however, has not been appointed a member of the Railway Enquiry Committee, but relegated to a subordinate position as an adviser who might be consulted by outside experts in matters relating to his own country.

(c) The Ottawa Pact.

6. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 2nd February, refers to the reply given by the Law Member to a question in the Legislative Assembly regarding the Ottawa Pact that the Pact would not be revoked so long as some new agreement was not reached, and says that the only condition necessary for the revocation of the Pact was six months' notice already given by the Assembly which period has since expired. Last year Government stated in the Assembly that it was carrying on negotiations with the Home Government to arrive at a new agreement, but so far nothing definite has been done. The paper is at a loss to understand why Government is making a purely commercial question so complicated and urges upon it to conclude an agreement calculated to safeguard the interests of Britain as well as India.

7. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 6th February, it is none the less true that, owing to the Ottawa Pact, India has lost an enormous share of trade with non-British Countries. While

she was an adherent to the Pact she was surely hampered in foreign markets. The paper is sure that when the new Central Legislature gets going Lancashire will be told in very straight language to keep her hands off Indian trade. India has been a good customer, says the paper, fo: Manchester goods and will continue to be so, but she will brook no dictation from outsiders as to with whom she may do business.

(d) The Ticketless Travel Bill.

8. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of 4th February, the Ticketless Travel Bill is a contentious measure as some of its provisions are obnoxious. During the Simla session of the Assembly, the paper observes, it was discussed thoroughly and though the Government tried to commit it to a Select Committee, the non-official members succeeded in circulating it. Since then the measure has been before the public. It is noteworthy that it has not received any influential support. When Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan again moved on Tuesday in the Assembly that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, his motion met with opposition from that section of the House which really counts in such matters. The assurance of the Railway Member that "he stood by the undertaking that certain features of the Bill to which objection had been taken, would be carefully examined and that certain safeguards urged in the course of the discussion would be incorporated", was of no avail. Even in a house considerably bereft of its non-official element no less than half a dozen members fought the official motion tooth and nail; and if they failed to kill it, it was due to their numerical weakness. However, the Bill is not expected to have a smooth sailing in its subsequent stages unless its objectional features are removed.

9. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 4th February cannot congratulate the Government on its persistence in regard to the Bill. No one will deny, the paper remarks, that those who deliberately indulge in this form of travel are guilty of sheer dishonesty and deserve severe penalties. What is necessary, however, is that the innocent should not be treated in the same way as the guilty and that the penalty should not be excessive. The Bill that was referred to a Select Committee of the Assembly on Tuesday suffers from both these defects in the most glaring fashion. Under its provisions any man found travelling without ticket on a railway is presumed to be guilty of deliberate evasion of payment of the fare even though he may have been unable to purchase the ticket at the station of departure either in a hurry or otherwise. The burden of proving that he had no intention to defraud the railway falls upon the supposed offender, which is contrary to all notions of justice, equity and good conscience. As if that were not enough, the person who is unable to prove a negative, one of the most difficult tasks in law suits, is liable not only to fine but also to rigorous imprisonment. Nothing could be more drastic than this.

(e) Mr. Gandhi's conception of complete independence.

10. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 2nd February, states that in reply to Mr. Polak who asked Mahatma Gandhi to define exactly what he meant by 'complete independence' the Mahatma is reported to have said that, so far as he was concerned, if Dominion Status was offered in terms of the Statute of Westminster, *i.e.*, the right to secede at will, he would unhesitatingly accept it. In an interview with a representative of an influential London newspaper, the paper adds, Pandit Jawaharlal too declared the other day that if India was allowed to have full control over her affairs he would not insist upon going out of the Empire. No other two men, the paper says, can interpret the desires and aspirations of the Congress with greater precision and authority than Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It hopes t eir latest statements will dispel from the official mind whatever doubts still linger there and the Government will cease to be afraid of the simple words 'complete independence.'

11. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 4th February, remarks that M. Gandhi's statement should set at rest all speculations and wild talk about severance of the British iconnexion. The right to secede from the Empire inherent in the Statute of Westminster need not worry anybody. Other Dominions have that right, but seem in no way inclined to exercise it, because they do not find it in their interests to do so. By remaining within the Empire they are saved the cost of huge armaments in this overarmed world.

12. In the opinion of the *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 3rd February, Mr. Gandhi's interpretation of complete independence is the most important declaration of the time as it indicates that, despite the bitterness prevailing between England and India on account of the battle of freedom, India is prepared to effect a compromise with the British Government and its greatest political leader will be content if it is granted Dominion Status in the terms of the Statute of Westminster. This declaration, the paper says, will be endorsed not only by the Congress, but other progressive parties in India. Great Britain should treat India with generosity and take advantage of the opportunity created by the declaration.

(f) The Congress and Muslims.

13. Writing in the *Milap* (Lahore) of the 5th February, Ranbir says that in India's struggle for freedom Hindus have all along supported and co-operated with the Congress, but Muslims have been and are singing tunes of communalism. This selfish and treacherous attitude of Muslims is having its pernicious effect on the Hindus who have begun to think that as they are not monopolists of Inda's freedom they should keep the interest of their own community only in the forefront. If this state of affairs continues, the dream of a united India will never be realized.

14. In the opinion of the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 7th February, Muslims should not have punished the defects of the Congress with complete disassociation from it but should have joined it in large

numbers to annul the anti-Muslim element in it. Their severance from the Congress is detrimental to themselves.

(g) Modification of Government Servants' Conduct Rules by the Government of North-West Frontier Province.

15. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 4th February, reports that a change of a sweeping character has just been made by the Frontier authorities in the Government Servants' Conduct Rules. It lays down that "no Government servant will get his grievances redressed by means of an interpellation in the Frontier Legislative Assembly by any member of the House". It further says that "a member will not ask any question regarding the terms or the tenure of the employment of any particular Government servant, nor would he enquire regarding any disciplinary action taken against him by the head of the department". If any question or resolution relating to this particular matter is taken up, it will be considered "as a breach of the service rules by that particular employee whose name is involved in the motion". It is true, says the paper, that in the interest of the purity of our public life, Government servants should not be dragged into the arena of party politics. But it does not mean that a member should be debarred from demanding information if, in his opinion, a glaring injustice has been done to a particular employee. The funniest part of the whole thing is that if any question is asked concerning a Government servant, that employee himself will be deemed to have committed a breach of the service rules. Unless it is proved to the satisfaction of the authorities that the man concerned has himself divulged the information on which a question or a resolution is based, why should he be punished? Cannot the same information be supplied by others, who may be inimically disposed towards him, to injure his interests? What guarantee is there that he will not be held accountable for the sins of others? Some steps must be taken to guard against such contingencies. Otherwise the rules may work very harshly so far as the employees are concerned.

16. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 4th February, enquires why particularly an individual Province should introduce such rules, when none exist in any of the other provinces? Perhaps the Government of the Frontier Province will care to inform the public of the reasons that have led it to this action. The new rules, the paper says, are of a most autocratic character and should be withdrawn at once. Their introduction at the time of inauguration of the new Reforms is bound to be taken as of sinister import. The Government should try to remove the impression with the least possible delay.

17. In the opinion of the *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 4th February, the step taken by the Frontier Government is extremely deplorable and reactionary. If Government institutions like the Legislatures are shut up against Government servants where should the unfortunate employees of the Government take their appeals. In

other words, of all Government employees of India those of the Frontier are subject to more stringent restrictions the reason for which is that they should not be able to adopt means of putting an end to their oppressions after which only two ways will be left open for the responsible authorities, viz., either to stop these cruelties in the best manner or be the target of the public's legitimate objections.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Song of Bande Mataram and the Muslim Students of Calcutta.

18. Writing in the *Milap* (Lahore) of the 2nd February, Ranbir regrets that the Muslim students of the Calcutta University should have refused to participate in the celebrations of its Foundation Day as a protest against 'Bande Mataram' the National Anthem of India and says that Muslim students and other Muslims can pay homage to the Union Jack and can sing 'God Save the King', but are unable to sing the anthem of their country. If Islam advises its followers to show hatred towards the country they should decide as to what treatment should be accorded to its teachings.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

The 6th February, 1937.

134 PB—123—11-2-37—SGPP Lahore.

D.I.G. / A.D.I.G.

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Distribution No. 55

No. 7.

Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 13th February, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Germany and her former colonies.

1. Alluding to Herr Hitler's speech in the Reichstag reiterating the German demand for colonies, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 7th February, enquires what will be the position if Germany insists upon the return of her colonies ? International situation, it remarks, which is already confusing and uncertain, will get worse. But the question is, should the countries, which belong to the League group, precipitate matters on that issue ? Certainly they should not do so. On the other hand they should gladly part with things which do not, as a matter of right, belong to them. If they adopt that attitude, they will serve the cause of peace better than they will do otherwise.

2. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 7th February, Germany is bent upon getting back all territories lost in 1918 and thus wipe out completely the stigma of defeat attaching since then. France, England and other countries, who benefited from the spoils, are on the other hand, in no mood to part with their aquisitions. If, however, Britain and France are willing to take a referendum and obtain the opinion of the territories concerned as to what form of Government they wish to choose or whether they are willing to be ruled by any of the European Powers the question can be settled.

(b) Turkey's demand for the restoration of Mosul.

3. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 9th February, understands that Turkey has proved the superiority of her right over Mosul and that her demand for its restoration to her is under the consideration of the League of Nations. This demand, the paper says, should be conceded otherwise Europe will have to fact humiliation. The attitude of European countries in the matter, is mysterious. The French Press is carrying on the propaganda that Turkey wants to occupy Iraq. The object underlying it is to try to estrange relations between Turkey and Iraq, but France is bound to fail in the attempt because Turkey appears to have made the demand after consulting the King of Iraq.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) India's defence.

4. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 10th February, thinks that in the event of a big armed conflict on the continent British warships may be held up in European waters and the Far Eastern British fleet may not be able to fight the menace to India successfully. The British air bases in Asia are not quite close to India. How can an immediate response to the cry for help be expected from them ? Moreover, the paper observes, it is not wrong to assume that the tribesmen may create trouble on the Indian frontier in case there is trouble in Europe. The need for the development

of every department of the Indian defence organization is urgent. The task requires patience. The Government of India have plenty of patience, but they do not have adequate funds. They can have ample funds, if they replace expensive British troops by cheap Indian troops and effect economy in other directions also. Indian tax-payer is willing to pay more money for the protection of his hearth and home. But he must be assured that the Government are correctly using the money already given to them.

5. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 12th February, expresses the view that if war is declared India cannot remain aloof from it. It cannot defend itself. But while Military training is being given to every adult in almost all the European countries Indians are not allowed even to keep arms. In view of the danger of invasion on India by Russia and Afghanistan it is necessary that Indians should be given Military training and taught the methods of protecting themselves.

(b) The Congress and office.

6. Discussing the question of the acceptance of office by the Congress in view of its having captured majority of seats in some of the provinces in the present elections to the Provincial Assemblies the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 9th February, observes that consistently with the spirit of its resolutions and of its election manifesto, which really formed the basis of its election campaign, the Congress cannot agree to accept office. The parliamentary programme, though important in itself, represents only a part of the great work that the Congress has undertaken for the liberation of India. In this work it will have to win the active co-operation of all those political groups and parties which stand for complete democratic Swaraj for India. Its influence and authority will be considerably weakened if it forms a part of the official machinery. The paper hopes that the anti-office party will marshal its forces and will not allow the All-India Congress Committee to arrive at a decision in this matter which will not be consistent with the Congress prestige.

7. The *Bande Mataram* (Lahore) of the 10th February, is of opinion that although the Congress has won the field of elections yet it has not accomplished its real task as yet. A bigger issue, the paper says, is still before it, *i.e.*, it has still to prepare a scheme for wrecking the new Constitution. The whole country is anxious to be acquainted with such a scheme as also with the decision regarding the acceptance or non-acceptance of office.

(c) The Congress and other Parties.

8. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 8th February, says that new elections have again put Congress in the position of power and Congress stalwarts can make use of the opportunity in the interests

of the people. They can wreck what is bad and work what is good. In the Punjab they are not the masters of destiny: still they can take their share in the political life of the Province. They can form a live opposition in conjunction with other parties. In principles and professions the Muslim Unionists and the Hindu Progressives are very near the Congress. The difference lies in the way those professions are put into practice. The task of Congressmen in the Punjab is to see that the Unionists and the Progressives live up to their professions to bridge the communal gulf and do what they can to ameliorate the conditions of the masses.

(d) Draft amendments to the Legislative Assembly rules relating to questions.

9. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 10th February, cannot congratulate Government on their decision to "consult" the Assembly on the draft amendments to the legislative Assembly Rules relating to questions, at a time when the non-official benches are practically empty. Only nine elected members, the paper says, were present on Monday when the Select Committee's report on the amendments was placed for consideration before the House. Each and every one of them opposed the proposed changes. Having at his back the solid phalanx of the official bloc, however, the Law Member turned a deaf ear to all appeals for postponement. The responsibility for making these rules, declared Sir N. N. Sirkar, lay with the Governor-General in Council, but, his predecessor having given an undertaking to consult the House in connection with the proposed changes, he was carrying out the undertaking. Nothing could be more disingenuous than this plea of "consultation" with empty benches. It is all very well to say that there is no intention to deprive the House of the privilege of asking supplementary questions. But sub-rule 6 provides that "questions not answered within the time available each day shall become unstarred, that is, no oral reply shall be required and no supplementary questions shall be asked in respect thereof." Dr. Zia-ud-Din Ahmad urged the Government to omit this sub-rule, but his amendment was opposed by the official benches and rejected by 42 votes to 7. Now, the right of asking supplementary questions is the foundation of well-ordered liberty, especially in a country like India where the Executive is neither responsible to the Legislature, nor used to answering questions in a helpful spirit. The Government's opposition to Dr. Zia-ud-Din's amendment will, therefore, confirm the public suspicion that the real aim and object of the new rules is to curtail the liberty of putting supplementary questions.

10. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 10th February, asserts that the Opposition whose ranks are greatly depleted on account of the absence of a majority of elected members, felt quite helpless to prevent the onslaught on the rights of members in the matter of asking questions. The draft amendments, the paper remarks, suggest radical changes in the existing procedure which has been working quite satisfactorily—though not from the official point of view

for the last sixteen years. This procedure should not be changed unless there are exceptional circumstances justifying the change. No such circumstances exist in the present case. The Select Committee, which was appointed to consider the draft amendments, was itself divided ; and as many as six of its members submitted separate dissenting notes to the report. All this shows that the Government should have proceeded in the matter rather cautiously. Indeed, there would have been no material change in the position if the Governor-General in Council had, on his own initiative, amended the rules. It was certainly no use going through the farce of a debate on the question when the non-official benches in the Assembly were empty. The Government have not increased their reputation by consulting the rump Assembly.

(e) The Motor Vehicles Insurance Committee.

11. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 7th February, refers to the strong opposition offered to the compulsory insurance of motor vehicles by all witnesses who appeared before the Motor Vehicles Insurance Committee in Lahore and says that as the proposals will hit hard lorry owners and dealers in motor vehicles, it is but natural that they should take up such an attitude towards the proposal. The question is, what is demanded in the public interest ? That lorry accidents have become too frequent of late cannot be denied. The Government's sudden anxiety to look after the safety of those who travel by motor vehicles, while ignoring the risks incidental to other means of locomotion, is thus obviously liable to misinterpretation. The public strongly suspect that the proposals are actuated by a desire to cripple the motor industry with a view to benefit railways and will oppose the proposals unless a very strong case is made out. Both drivers and owners of motor vehicles as well as dealers in these goods lay the blame for the accidents on bad roads and other factors. What is needed first is the improvement and broadening of roads keeping a stricter control over the traffic police so as to prevent them from conniving at breaches of the law, fixing railings at dangerous points, educating the rural population on the rules of the road and abolishing private lorry stands, which are responsible for unhealthy competition in fast driving. This does not mean that control over motor lorries should be relaxed. It should on the other hand be tightened up. But compulsory motor insurance is not necessary unless and until steps have been taken to minimize the risks of accidents. If there is no improvement in the conditions of affairs after this has been done, the case for compulsory insurance of motor vehicles will become unanswerable.

(f) The Road Development Fund.

12. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 12th February, thinks that the imposition of certain conditions by the Government of India on the allocation of the Road Development Fund to the Provincial Governments, caused a good deal of alarm among the non-official European

members of the Assembly, when on Wednesday last Sir Frank Noyce moved his resolution on the subject. They apprehended, the paper remarks, that the conditions proposed by the Industries Member, particularly in regard to the regulation and control of motor vehicles, would retard the development of motor transport in which they felt interested. The Government were not at all prepared to listen to them. Of course, the Government's anxiety to protect the interests of the railways, which are the greatest of their assets, is quite natural. But it is being increasingly felt that the railways can be made to pay their way if they are managed as a commercial concern should be managed. The public are, therefore, reluctant to give more powers to the Government. They fear that these powers may be used to the detriment of motor transport. The only way in which motor competition can be successfully met—and it has been met in that manner in England—is, in the words of Mr. Morgan, "by enterprise and imagination, by improving goods and passenger services and introduction of modern and comfortable coaches."

13. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 13th February, the Assembly debate on the Road Fund resolution leaves no room for doubt that the Government of India are determined to force on the Provincial Governments a policy of protecting railway revenues at the expense of motor transport. The fund, the paper says, is largely derived from the tax on petrol, which is being levied since 1929. Speeches made by Government members in 1929 constituted a pledge that the Road Fund was meant for distribution among the provinces unconditionally. Powers have, however, now been taken to resume the share of a province "if it fails to take such steps as the Governor-General in Council may recommend for the regulation and control of motor vehicles within the province". The Punjab Government, for instance, is absolutely opposed to the compulsory insurance of motor vehicles. The Government of India apparently hold a contrary view. If they adhere to this view, they can now compel the Punjab Government to insist on the compulsory insurance of motor vehicles against its better judgment, under the threat of withholding its share of the Road Fund. If this will not be an attack on Provincial Autonomy, then all one can say is that words have lost their meanings.

(g) The Unionist Party.

14. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 6th February, is of opinion that there is every probability that the Unionist Party will command an absolute majority in the Punjab Legislative Assembly and its leader, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, will be called upon by His Excellency the Governor to select his colleagues. The Muslims who form a majority of the population of the Province, the paper adds, have every hope that the legitimate interests of all communities will be looked after by the Unionist Government, and that there is every hope that Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan will do his best to choose colleagues who may be trusted to carry out his declared policy.

15. In the opinion of the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 13th February, the position of the Party is not as strong as it was expected to be because it has so far secured 80 seats and in order to acquire a solid majority the Party should capture 87 seats. If 3 more candidates of the Party sustain defeat it will not be able to form majority. The future of the Party is, therefore, in danger. Again, there is another danger which the Party may have to face, *i.e.*, the trouble over offices. Those of its members who will not secure jobs will get disappointed with it.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Independence Day and the Kashmir State.

16. The *Bande Mataram* (Lahore) of the 10th February, refers to the ban placed by certain Provincial Governments on the celebration of Independence Day and states that the Kashmir State, in order to please the British Government, went a step further. It placed a ban not only on the taking of the Independance Pledge but also on the holding of the meetings in the State. The Congress should take the matter in its own hands and bring home to the rulers of Indian States the fact that they are after all Indians and should show greater affection to the subject people than the British Government does.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

Murder of the Acting Political Agent, Waziristan.

17. The *Sewadar* (Lahore) of the 10th February, alludes to the murder of Mr. Beatty, Acting Assistant Political Agent, Waziristan, at the hands of some Pathans, and remarks that the ferocious and looting habits of Pathans cannot disappear unless and until the Government adopts bold and strong measures against them. The frontier solidarity is a key to the peace of the whole of India and not only of the Punjab.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

The 13th February, 1937.

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No. 8.

Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 20th February, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) A suggestion for the formation of League of Muslim Countries.

1. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 21st February, says that the world is to-day anxious to find out some method for effecting the solidarity of nations. Islam had laid down such a method 1,400 years ago but it is a pity that the Muslims lost sight of it. The countries of Iran, Afghanistan, Arabia, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Yemen are to-day independent. They can, if they like, avail themselves of the advantages of *haj* (pilgrimage) from national and religious viewpoints. Arabia is a purely Islamic kingdom where Islamic laws and *Shariat* are in force. If other Islamic countries make Mecca their centre and establish a 'League of Islamic Nations', Islam can gain enormous strength and power.

(b) Contract of oil springs in Afghanistan.

2. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 18th February, praises the sense of wisdom of the Government of Afghanistan in giving the contract of oil springs recently discovered in Afghanistan to an American Company and remarks that by doing so the Afghan Government has falsified the propaganda of those shortsighted people who were in the habit of saying that the said Government was granting to the English such concessions as were detrimental to the internal freedom of the country. Had there been an iota of truth in the above propaganda the Afghan Government would not have preferred an American Company to British capitalists. Indeed, the preferential treatment accorded to America in the matter shows the extent of Afghanistan's friendly relations with that country.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) The Labour Party and the Duke of Windsor.

3. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 14th February, the decision of the British Labour Party in Parliament to oppose a separate grant to the Duke of Windsor has been received in India with feelings of extreme disgust. Meanness is not the word for such conduct, which is despicable in the extreme, deserving of the paper's utmost contempt. No man in England, it says, worked so hard or did so much for the very people who now wish to stand in the way of Parliament's making due provision for a deposed King who, no matter how one may view his matrimonial plans, was a noble-hearted Monarch, possessing every attribute of Royalty. The disgracefully mean depths to which the Labour Party has now descended, the paper remarks, may well serve to open the eyes of Indians to what they might expect, were the Labourites again to come into power at Westminster.

4. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 18th February, thinks that most of the members of the British Labour Party have fallen such a victim to vindictiveness that they have forgotten even

ordinary human rights. The said party does not appear to have been satisfied with the abdication of the ex-King and wants to deprive him of his personal rights. The chronicler of to-day will be compelled to characterize this attitude on the part of the party as rank tyranny. Indeed, the attitude should be universally condemned throughout the British Empire.

(b) Great Britain's defence proposals.

5. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 14th February justifies the proposal of the British Government to ask Parliament, for power to raise capital or use the realized surpluses for defence expenditure up to a sum of £400,000,000 spread over a period of 5 years. On the ground that Fascism and Militarism have created a situation, in which Democracy has to accept willy-nilly their maxim that guns are more important than butter. Had the British Government, the paper observes, resisted with all their might the attempt of Italian Fascism to acquire a foothold in East Africa, they would have certainly succeeded and the position of Britain in the Red Sea would not have become precarious. Again, it was the triumph of Italian Fascism, which encouraged German Nazi-ism to tear the Locarno Pact to tatters. It was possible to stem the tide of Fascim, which threatened to engulf Democracy when the German troops occupied the Rhineland. If General Franco triumphs in Spain—and there is no reason why he should not triumph with the tremendous help he has received from his foreign Fascist friends—the position of Britain will be very much weakened in the western part of the Mediterranean Sea. In these circumstances, the demand for a sum not exceeding £400,000,000, which they propose to spend in 5 years is not extravagant and may be granted. But are they asks the paper, sure that they will be given five years by the Fascist Powers to fill up the gaps in their defence ?

6. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 17th February infers from the defence proposals that the danger of the outbreak of war in Europe is quite at hand. Although, the paper remarks, Great Britain has made every possible effort to maintain peace yet all her attempts have proved futile. Germany is bent upon putting her newly acquired power to the test. Therefore Herr Hitler is trying to find out a pretext to measure strength with others. This being so Great Britain is forced to take the above step. It remains to be seen which power takes upon itself the responsibility of declaring war. In its issue, dated the 20th February, the paper thinks that if an effective front is not established against Hitler and Mussolini, they will not refrain from carrying their cruel intentions into effect. Although the huge sum is meant purely for Imperialistic interests and purposes and not for the betterment of the people writhing for freedom under British yoke yet there is no denying the fact that the intentions of Italy and Germany are dangerous for general human freedom. Therefore, the paper cannot hold war preparations of Britain unwelcome. But if the object underlying the proposals

is to bring about colonial expansion, no right thinking person can congratulate Great Britain for adopting it. The future will, however, tell what the reality is.

(c) Congress successes in elections.

7. Referring to the great majority secured by the Congress in the elections in the Bihar Province, the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 17th February feels glad that the Muslims who stood on the Congress ticket in that Province have been returned to the Assembly. The Congress, the paper remarks, has not as yet decided the question of the acceptance of office, but if the decision is in favour of acceptance, the first thing which it will do in Bihar, as reports received from that Province go to show, will be to fix the salary of a Minister at Rs. 200 a month. This sum is sufficient for a decent living for a month. Service should be the means of serving the country and not of amassing wealth. One of the causes of the troubles of India lies in the fact that officials in India are given such high salaries as are nowhere drawn by officials in the world. And if other Provinces will follow the example of Bihar, a pleasant change is sure to take place in the state of affairs of the country.

8. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 19th February contends that the authors of the Government of India Act had created so many constitutional devices to ruin the chances of the success of the Congress in the Elections that it was thought in Britain that the situation in almost all Provincial Legislatures would be dominated by reactionary elements. The Congress, the paper remarks, has, however, overcome the obstacles and obtained an absolute majority in three out of the seven provinces in which the election results have been announced. The Congress has bearded the *taluqdar* lion in his U. P. den. The Congress Party will be as powerful in the United Provinces Assembly as it will be in the Orissa Assembly where it has secured 36 seats out of the 60 seats. In the Bihar Assembly also the will of the Congress will be supreme. The Congress inflicted a crushing defeat on the leader of the opposition in the Bengal Council and thus demonstrated the great influence it had over the people. Even the watertight communal compartments which have been created under the new Constitution have been affected by its ideology. To form an idea of the influence the Congress wield in Assam one should peruse the list of the high priests of reactionaryism whom it has removed from their pedestals. The only province in which the election results have not fulfilled the expectations of the Congress is the Frontier Province. In the Frontier Province the Congress has suffered several reverses. In Madras the Congress may have a victory greater than the victories it has won so far. The Congress is well entrenched in the Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay. It may sweep the polls. More surprises seem to be in store for the *London Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* and for those whom they represent.

(d) Judicial machinery in the Punjab.

9. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 18th February, the address, which the Chief Justice Sir Douglas Young delivered at the annual dinner of the Punjab Civil Service (Judicial) Association contained an admirable plea for the overhauling of the judicial machinery in the Punjab. There are innumerable defects in it. It is not easy for poor men to seek and secure justice. For without a long purse nobody can successfully conduct a case. Litigation in this province, as in every other province, is an expensive luxury which only rich men can indulge in. T is, the paper observes, is, indeed, a sorry state of affairs. In insisting that it should be ended Sir Douglas Young has emphasized a principle which will be universally appreciated. "Justice ought to be free," he says, "but, at any rate, there is no excuse for the Government making a profit out of it." Sir Dogulas Young has rightly emphasized the need for the simplification of the procedure in vogue in the courts and the improvement of the conditions prevailing there. "I often wonder," he says, "how courts of original jurisdiction in India and in particular in this Province can possibly arrive at just and correct decisions. The courts themselves are wholly inadequate. I have been in district courts which appear to me to be more like bazaars than courts of justice. Counsel, witnesses, *Ahlmads*, and the public crowd round the judge; the noise is appalling; everything militates against the calm and judicial atmosphere so essential for hearing cases; the preparation of cases is untrustworthy; false evidence is produced by the prosecution, defence, plaintiff and defendant; there is an affirmation, which does not command respect from any witness; and then there is the antiquated and absurd procedure whereby a judge is compelled in many cases to keep his nose on his note-book writing out with his own hand every word of the evidence instead of being able to watch the demeanour of the witness" Everybody will admit that this is a true picture of the administration of justice in the Punjab. But nobody can say that the system in vogue in our Province is a true copy of the British system of administering justice. How can it then be argued that the British system has failed here? The fact is, it has not been given a fair trial. The paper hopes the Government will give to Sir Douglas Young its unstinted support in overhauling the judicial machinery in the Punjab.

10. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore of the 18th February, thinks that when a Chief Justice has to admit that District Courts are more like bazaars than places of justice, things have reached a sad pass indeed. The cost of litigation in the Punjab, the paper avers, is certainly excessive; this in far too many cases means a denial of justice. Justice ought to be free, as Sir Douglas said: Government has no right to make a profit out of it. The ancient Indian ideal of justice was exactly this. In both Hindu and Muslim days a litigant seeking justice had freedom of approach at all times to the highest in the land.

(e) The Unionist Party.

11. In the opinion of the *Ihsan* (Lahore) of 18th February, the success of the Unionist Party in gaining majority lies not in the accomplishment of outstanding deeds of nationalism but in the official influence at its back and slavish mentality of the public. It looks as though the future of the Punjab rests with a party known for its conservatism and reactionary aptitude, and during its tenure no better change in the existing state of affairs can be expected. There are Hindu and Sikh parties which, too, have the same pro-Government tendencies and they may join the Unionist Party after a proper bargaining. There is, therefore, no hope of the progressive parties being able to offer a strong opposition to it. Nevertheless the Unionist Government will not be able to do some useful work for the public which will soon begin to show its disgust and hatred for it.

12. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 19th February, thinks that split and disruption in the extremist and nationalist ranks of the Punjab, Muslims and Non-Muslims alike, contributed to the success of reactionaries, like the Unionists and that a strong opposition can be formed even now if all the Muslim and Non-Muslim Nationalists join hands to present a united front to the Unionist Party in the Punjab Assembly.

13. Commenting on the above the *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 21st February, says surely the Unionist party is not responsible for the split in Muslim ranks. Indeed, the responsibility rests with those who set up different parties to oppose the Unionist Party despite the fact that they knew the weakness of their respective parties and the strength of the Unionist Party.

14. Writing in the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 20th February, Krishan says that so far as the Communal Award is concerned the Unionist Party is a Muslim group because its leader has declared to abide by the decision of the Muslims in the matter. The conscience of Hindu members of the Assembly will never allow them to work a constitution based on the Award. If not a single Hindu in the whole Province agrees to join the Cabinet without coming to terms in respect of the Award, Government will come to know that the Hindus can retaliate if any insult is hurled at them and a constitutional difficulty will arise which even the Governor will not be able to solve easily. If the Hindu community is not prepared to yield to the Unionist Party, it should make it clear to its representatives in the Assembly that if they accepted Ministry under the Unionist Government they will be dubbed as traitors.

(f) The Unionist Party and the Council of Ministers.

15. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 19th February, refers to the invitation extended to Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan by His Excellency the Governor to help the latter in the formation of the Cabinet and says that in seeking the advice of the Hon'ble Sir

Sikandar Hyat Khan the Governor of the Punjab has given the province the distinction of being the first to establish a convention about the appointment of the leader of the majority party as the Premier. The coming into power of the Unionist Party in the Punjab irresistibly leads to two conclusions, about which there can be no difference of opinion. One clear moral which emerges from the present constitutional position of the parties is that wrecking tactics are foredoomed to failure in this province and that despite its obvious inadequacies the Constitution will be tried as a basis for further political advance. There is also obviated the dangerous possibility of a purely communal rule in this province where its triangular position renders the problems most delicate. The paper has no doubt that under the able leadership of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan the Unionists will give a good account of themselves and nobly acquit themselves of their responsibilties. They have inspired certain expectations in the public mind and upon them as the future Government of the province lies the burden of justifying them.

(g) Roads in the Punjab.

16. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 20th February is of the opinion that the session of the Punjab Engineering Congress recently opened by His Excellency the Governor has an important programme for discussion. Perhaps the most vital subject is that of the Punjab roads. Although, the paper remarks, the Punjab can boast of better road communications than any other Province, still it is far behind the ideal. There remains much to be done, for instance, in order to bring the cultivator into touch with markets for his produce. What is, therefore, necessary in the first place, is that the metalling of roads must be complete; the present metalled strip in the centre no longer serves the needs of rapid transport. The second problem to be tackled is the elimination of dust. This can be achieved only if the roads are constructed on the sound principles adopted in Europe. The paper hopes that the Engineering Conference will tackle these two problems and make such recommendations as are practicable and within the financial means available, not forgetting to make a strong demand that the Central Government should allot the whole of the petrol tax to provincial roads.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

Arrest of Shrimati Amar Kaur in the North-West Frontier Province.

17. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 17th February, expulsion from the Frontier Province of the Congress workers who went there from the Punjab to tell the people how they should use

their votes has created a prejudice against the Frontier Government in the mind of the public, especially when the Punjab Government had not a word to say against their speeches. The Frontier Government, the paper observes, did not content itself with sending back the inconvenient visitors bag and baggage. It took one of them into custody. The arrested person, Shrimati Amar Kaur, is a prominent Congress worker of the Punjab. Assuming that she had reserved seditious speeches for the Frontier Province, one would like to know if it would not have served the purpose of the Government if she had been simply expelled. No notice was served on her. Like others she would have quitted the Province if she had been asked to quit it. By arresting her the Frontier Government has committed a great mistake. It will be committing a greater mistake by prosecuting her. For whatever may be the result of her prosecution a vast trail of bitterness will be left behind. The elections with all their heat and fury are over. Let the Government release Shrimati Amar Kaur and promote goodwill and harmony.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,

The 20th February, 1937. *Punjab Civil Secretariat.*

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their votes has created a prejudice against the Frontier Government in the mind of the public, especially when the Punjab Government had not a word to say against their speeches. The Frontier Government, on these charges, did not content itself with sending the former visitors out and luggage. It took one of them into custody. The arrested person, Shrimati Amar Kaur, is a prominent Congress worker of the Punjab. Assuming that she had delivered seditious speeches in the Frontier Province, one would like to know if it would not have served the purpose of the Government if she had been similarly expelled. No restraint was placed on her—like others she would have quitted the Province if she had been asked to quit it. By arresting her the Frontier Government has committed a great mistake. It will be committing a greater mistake by prosecuting her. For whatever may be the result of her prosecution a vast trail of bitterness will be left behind. The elections with all their heat and fury are over. Let the Government release Shrimati Amar Kaur and promote goodwill and harmony.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,

The 2nd February, 1937. Punjab Civil Secretariat.

D.I.G. / A.D.I.G.

9/4/3 UP 5/4/37

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 27th February, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Indians in South Africa.

1. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 21st February, refers to the two Bills before the Union Assembly, one forbidding mixed marriages between Europeans and Asiatics and the other placing a ban on the employment of Europeans by Asiatics and observes that so far as mixed marriages are concerned, a preponderant majority of thoughtful Indians strongly deprecates them. There is, however, a vast deal of difference between disapproval and a legal ban. As for the Bill forbidding the employment of Europeans by Asiatics, it discriminates against the latter in the most offensive fashion. The paper says that it need hardly point out that as Indians form a majority of the Asiatics in South Africa, the two measures are particularly aimed against Indians. Surely there must be an end to the humiliations that are heaped upon the Indian subjects of His Majesty in the Union. If such a condition of affairs is allowed to continue, the day is not far distant when Britain will have to choose between India and South Africa. The question is, how long will His Majesty's Government look on as disinterested spectators when the humiliating treatment of Indians in South Africa is being aggravated ?

(b) Alleged maltreatment of Indians in Ceylon.

2. The *Mauji* (Amritsar) of the 22nd February, is surprised to learn that Indians are being ruthlessly driven out of Ceylon although this island owes its present prosperity to Indian labour and Indian capital. The paper asks the Government of India to lend full support to the Memorandum submitted by the local Indian League to the Ceylon Government and check the injustice done to Indians there. In the opinion of the paper, if the people of Ceylon continue to maltreat Indians in the same manner, the Government of India should retaliate by sending the Ceylonese residing in India back to the island.

(c) The King of Egypt and foreign students.

3. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 26th February, welcomes the declaration made by the King of Egypt that he will bear the educational expenses of foreign students joining the Al Azhar university and deplores the lack of sense of duty on the part of the British Government in this behalf as, in the opinion of the paper, it not only does not accord benevolent treatment to Indians studying in the universities of England, but in certain cases also creates difficulties for them.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) Indian Princes and Federation.

4. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 24th February, the report which Mr. J. H. Morgan has submitted to the Princes is on the face of it a setback to the Federation scheme Doubtless, it says, there are many snags in the scheme ; Mr. Morgan'

has perhaps laid undue stress on some of them. But whatever happens, nothing is more certain than that what is styled the "sovereignty" of the Indian Princes will be gradually modified as India becomes more and more of a democracy. The Princes are on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand their sovereignty is now assailed by the Foreign and Political Department; but in the event of Federation maturing that same sovereignty is bound to be curtailed. The Princes would do well to look far ahead. Democracy is bound to come in India as it is advancing the world over.

5. According to the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 24th February, Mr. Morgan has advised the Princes among other things to claim the right to leave the Federation whenever they want to leave it. Mr. Morgan himself admits that the Federal constitution "is like a building which began, in one style of architecture but is to be completed in another, in part Gothic, in part Renaissance and it may well be that the distribution of the stress and strain of the structure will appear in course of time unequal to the burden of its support." Can he, the paper enquires, deny that the revolutionary alterations suggested by him, if accepted, will make the design of the building worse and further weaken the structure? Mr. Morgan's report will simply whet the appetite of the Princes for safeguards. What they require to be taught is that they should go to the farthest length to accommodate Democracy. In its issue, dated the 26th February, the paper expresses the view that no one in India is enamoured of the present scheme of Federation, and no patriotic Indian will shed a tear if that scheme will fall through. As a matter of fact nationalist opinion is firm and unanimous in its decision to reject the scheme. But let the Princes be under no delusion in this matter. Sooner or later they will have to come into line with Indian political thought and to form a part of an all-India federation; and whenever that day may come they will have to join the Federation on the same terms as the provinces, namely, on the basis of perpetual union. The right of secession is and will for all time be as inadmissible in their case as in the case of the provinces.

(b) New Coronation Oath.

6. Referring to the slight changes made in the New Coronation Oath the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 21st February, states that the 1911 Oath was quite out of date. So many political changes have taken place in the British Commonwealth since then that it would have been inadvisable to stick to the form of Oath that His late Majesty King George V took at the time of his coronation. The Statute of Westminster has completely changed the relationship between Britain and the Dominions. The Dominions are no longer subordinate to Britain in any matter. They now enjoy perfect equality with the United Kingdom and possess the right of secession. The change in the form of Oath, the paper believes, will satisfy the Dominions some of which could not reconcile themselves to the antiquated form.

(c) The Congress and acceptance of office.

7. According to the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 24th February, the Congress will have a clear majority in the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, the Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay, that is to say, in six out of eleven provinces. It is well known, the paper observes, that Pandit Jawaharlal, like his Socialist friends, is uncompromisingly opposed to office acceptance. The question is, however, to be finally decided by a meeting of the Congress Cabinet at Wardha, and one should not wonder if the most powerful political organization in the country decides to form Ministries in provinces where it has a majority over all other parties. The best policy for the Congress would, therefore, be not only to accept office in provinces where it has clear majorities, but to follow the methods pursued in British Dominions. These methods have not failed of their purpose. The change in the Coronation Oath of King George VI makes this abundantly manifest. All that is needed for the realization of a similar consummation for India is education of the electorate, a form of propaganda in which the Congress is already an adept.

8. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 25th February, thinks that the Congress trying to work the Constitution in some provinces and to wreck it in others would be not only illogical and absurd, but, on the face of it, improper and harmful both to itself and to the country. The only right course for the Congress at the present stage, the paper observes, is neither to accept office nor to follow a policy of uniform, consistent and thoroughgoing obstruction. Profoundly as it believes in a policy of creating deadlocks, the only deadlocks that would really contribute to the realization of the Congress objective are deadlocks from which there would be no way of escape for the Governor except in one of two directions : (1) the assumption by the Governor of the entire responsibility for the Government of the province, and (2) the concession of the peoples' demand as voiced by the Congress party and other progressive elements in the Legislature. Any deadlock that would not either directly or indirectly, either immediately or ultimately, lead to either of these consequences, which eventually would mean one and the same thing, because it is inconceivable that the Governor can long or indefinitely retain the power of the Government in his own hands, would not only be premature but might do positive harm. Under no circumstances should a crisis be provoked or precipitated which might result in the triumph of the forces of reaction.

9. In the opinion of the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 26th February, the very fact that the anti-Congress Anglo-Indian journals are advising the Congress to accept office, is a sufficient warning to the Congress not to accept it. But if the Congress decides to accept, its solidarity will be shattered and will be divided into so many groups of seekers after jobs and the Congressmen will no longer remain immune from moral degradation.

10. The *Khalsa Sewak* (Amritsar) of the 26th February, fails to understand how the Congress will be able to wreck the Constitution after becoming a part of the machinery thereof. The Congress, in its opinion, can in no way attack the Constitution after securing ministerships. The good of the country demands that it should give up the idea of accepting Ministries.

(d) The Railway Enquiry Committee.

11. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 26th February, the exclusion of Indians from the Railway Enquiry Committee was a deliberate insult offered to public opinion in this country. Even when, the paper avers, the attention of the Government of India was drawn to the fact that a great wrong had been done to Indians in this matter, they refused point-blank to rectify the blunder. The result is that to-day all politically-minded Indians are arrayed against them. This is quite evident from the debate that took place in the Assembly on Wednesday on a cut motion. Not a single Indian member was found in the whole house to say a word in favour of the Government's indefensible action. Whether in the importation of these railway "experts" from outside the hand of Sir James Grigg is visible or not, the fact remains that the primary responsibility in this matter is that of Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, who is incharge of the Railways in India. The Railway Member should have known that it was he who would have to face the music in the Assembly. Even if he had made a mistake in the beginning, he should have realized, at least when protests were lodged with the Government after the announcement of the personnel of the Committee, that Indian public felt outraged and that something must be done to satisfy it. But he persisted in his blundering policy, with the result that even his habitual supporters deserted him. Now that the Committee had finished its labours, the only thing the Assembly could do was to censure the railway administration. And this it did when it carried the motion.

12. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 27th February, remarks that while the composition of the Simon Commission was an insult heaped on Indians by the English the constitution of the Wedgwood Committee is a joke played upon Indians by one who is himself an Indian.

(e) The Unionist Party.

13. In the opinion of the *New Times* (Lahore) of the 22nd February, it is really fortunate, that in spite of the adverse circumstance created in the province by the recall of Sir Sikander Hyat from his appointment in the Reserve Bank of India, so that he may run the elections armed with all the official power and patronage that it was possible to be given to him—there has been returned to the Legislative Assembly an effective Opposition consisting of the ablest and most independent members of the various communities. The representatives of the Ahrar, Muslim League and Ittihad-i-Millat parties, the papers remarks, can never join the Unionist

Party, considering that it is the worst party. They cannot run separate parties within the Assembly consisting of twos or threes. They must coalesce as Muslims. Thus together, they can co-operate with the representatives of the Congress in giving battle on the floor of the Assembly to the Unionist Government. The jealousies and rivalries of the members of the Unionist Party which will remain suppressed till the division of offices has taken place, will revive with redoubled vigour notwithstanding any official attempts to keep this Party together. Then will be the time for the Opposition to think of forming a Government in this Province. But till then let the Opposition think only of its duty as an Opposition and not even entertain any idea of co-operating with the Unionists on the basis of any Ministerships that they in their desperate straits might offer. The Unionist Party must first be driven out from all positions of power. There can be no peace and no satisfaction in this province until this poisonous miasma of Unionism is first completely dispelled.

14. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 26th February, remarks that in provinces in which the Congress has captured majority of seats in the Assembly it is thought that if the Congress decides to accept office a Congressite Chief Minister will agree to accept a salary of Rs. 500. In view of the economic plight of the country the proposal is reasonable in the extreme and will greatly improve the financial position of the country if all other officers agree to their salaries being retrenched in a similar way. If the Unionist Party in the Punjab welcomes the proposal of the Congress, many ugly blots can be removed from its skirt. If it furnished no proof of sacrifice in the matter the world would be justified in coming to the conclusion that its ideal is based on selfish motives.

15. The *Contest* (Sialkot) of the 28th February, affirms that the Unionists are in clear majority in the Punjab Assembly. "Dominion Status for India," the paper remarks, is their political goal and it is evident beyond doubt that if the Party, as a whole, adheres to the principles laid down in their programme there are bright days in store for the Land of the Five Rivers. There is no doubt that most of the members of the Unionist Party are rich and well-to-do landlords, and as such they are likely to have their own ends in view, but times are changed, and people are awake to their own needs as well as to those of the province as a whole, so they must bow to the will of the people irrespective of creed and caste, if they want to become popular and remain in power. The greatest advantage that the Unionists enjoy, and will continue to enjoy, is the fact that they are, as far as their personnel is concerned, not a communal body at all, and, therefore, they must, as duty bound, safeguard the interests of the population whether rural or urban.

(f) Trans-Frontier Tribes and Government.

16. Alluding to a Peshawar report that dacoity and kidnapping are still rife on the Frontier, the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 22nd February, remarks that these crimes are but an indication of

the prestige lost by Government owing to its insipid policy on the Frontier. Not a week passes without some outrage being committed. Frontier guards are sniped, European officers killed and robbed, still Government continues a policy of "wait and see". Government hesitates to take drastic measures. Mischief makers make the most of this policy; they are never tired of telling the tribes that Britishers are afraid of complications in the Near East and that they would never dare to take any real action against the tribes. Trans-Border people are made to look to their Pan-Islamist neighbours of Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq, Arabia and Turkey, who are alleged to have entered into a military pact of offence and defence, with a standing army of some twelve millions. This Pan-Islamist propaganda is quite strong on the Frontier and the failure of Government to do anything effective is strengthening it. The prestige of Government and the life and property of Hindus are at stake; it is not known if Government will ever be able to do anything now, hampered as it may be by a Congress majority at the Centre and a Red Shirt majority in the Frontier Province

III—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) An alleged objectionable book on the Maharani of Jhansi.

17. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 28th February, expresses strong indignation against the horrible departures that have been in its opinion made from facts by one Mr. Philip Cox in his book on Maharani of Jhansi published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Limited, London, in which the writer goes the length of saying that the Maharani made an offer of her chastity to Colonel Allen, a misrepresentation which is likely to provoke the Indians. The paper requests the Government of India to move the Home Government to proscribe the book forthwith.

(b) Alleged publication of the portraits of Prophet Muhammad in the Encyclopædia of Modern Knowledge.

18. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 28th February, takes strong exception to an article entitled 'Muhammad the Prophet of God and his teachings' contributed by Mr. S. D. Margoliath to the Encyclopædia of Modern Knowledge and regrets that the publisher of the book should have published three portraits of the Holy Prophet to interest its readers. The paper requests the Government of India to see that the pictures are expunged from the publication as the Muslims can never bear calumnies and misrepresentation of their Prophet.

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The 27th February, 1937.

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 6th March, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Germany's demand for her former Colonies.

1. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 5th March, the declaration made by Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary, in the course of a debate in the House of Commons that the British Government were not considering the transfer of any territory under British political control does not mean either that Britain has rejected the German demand for the return of colonies or that it would at no time in future take notice of it. All that it is intended to convey is that for the present the Government is not seized of the matter. This is in keeping with the postpone-the-evil day tradition of the Baldwin regime which has earned for Downing Street the nickname of Dodging Street. The Fuehrer, the paper remarks, in his recent speech, made it clear that he would go on pressing for the restoration of colonies, and in keeping with the schedule drawn up in Wilhelmstrausse, Herr von Ribbentrop, German Ambassador in London, has now reiterated the demand for a share of the world's "milk and honey". The economic argument for the return of the colonies simply does not hold water. It has been repeatedly stated that the economic value of the former German possessions is very poor and that even in Eastern Asia Germany held nothing of great economic value. But these arguments cannot weigh with the Nazis who have set their heart on a colonial empire where Swastika will keep fluttering. The Germans are firm believers in the knock-knock theory and will go on clamouring for a place in the sun ; and when their armament programme is complete they will assert themselves in such a way as to compel the world to hearken.

(b) Rumoured partition of Palestine.

2 The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 5th March, refers to a rumour rife in the Middle East that the British Government has under consideration a proposal to split up Palestine in two parts and says that the British Government should know that the Muslims of the world will never tolerate the division of Palestine. The only solution of the Palestine problem, which can satisfy the Muslim world, is that the immigration of the Jews in Palestine should be stopped, the Balfour declaration cancelled and Palestine liberated from British Mandate so that the people of that country may establish the sort of Government they like.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) 1937-38 Budget of the Government of India.

3. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 1st March, the speech made by the Hon'ble the Finance Member, when introducing the Budget proposals for 1937-38 is the best justification for the Swaraj struggle. It is sadly significant and typical of the present order of things. India's Finance Member

seems interested in the collection of revenues alone. Whether deficit or surplus, his budget is for the maintenance of a large army in India. More than half the total revenues go to Defence. He is increasing the burden on the sugar industry not to eliminate unhealthy competition but because he wants money to balance his budget. He could help the sugar manufacturers better by allowing them to convert molasses and other by-products into useful substances. But that he would not do. He would not even think of it. His only concern seems to be the collection of revenues.

4. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 2nd March, thinks that the Central Budget is a most disappointing one in as much as the Finance Member proposes, by fresh taxation and by appropriation of the Revenue Reserve Fund, to balance the budget. New taxation, the paper says, is always unwelcome to the classes concerned. A vast majority of thoughtful Indians, however, would have hailed with delight a tax on the export of gold, which is draining the resources of the country. But the Government of India propose to balance the budget, not by a tax on the export of gold, but by an increase of the duty on silver from two to three annas per ounce and by raising the excise duty on sugar produced in Indian mills by over 52 per cent. Immediate effect having been given to these new taxes, the price of sugar has already risen in the market. This is bound adversely to affect the masses and to evoke a storm of protest in the Assembly. Fresh taxation could have been easily avoided by a reduction in the military expenditure. But the military authorities are still unsatisfied, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief being "seriously concerned as to the adequacy of the present figures for the real needs of defence". In view of the crushing burden of military expenditure and the attitude of the defence departments in India, deficit budgets and increase in taxation are not at all matters of surprise.

5. According to the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 2nd March, there is nothing in the budget proposals to show that there has been any reduction in expenditure worth the name. The military octopus, the paper remarks, as usual consumes half the revenue of the Central Government. Not content with permitting the abnormal position to continue, the Finance Member sounds a note of warning, as usual on the authority of the Commander-in-Chief, that the expenditure on defence will have to be increased as time passes. No dispassionate student of Indian finance during these many years is likely to deny that considering the enormous sums which the Government of India have in the past spent on defence, as compared with the sums they have spent on education, sanitation, industrial development and other beneficent activities, India has all these years presented the appearance of a military-cum-police State. And in this respect the position is apparently to remain as bad under the new constitution as now, for the authors of that constitution have taken particular care to exclude the whole subject of defence

from the operations of the Federal Government, inadequately responsible to Indian opinion as that Government itself will be. From the point of view of giving the poor man a fair deal and pursuing a policy of development in the interests of the poor, the budget proposals are just as unsatisfactory as in the matter of expenditure. Not only do the beneficent activities of the Government receive no consideration at the hands of the Finance Member, but his proposal to increase the excise duty on sugar from Re. 1-5 to Rs. 2 per cwt. is bound to hit the poor man hard, besides inflicting a serious injury on a still struggling industry.

6. The *Milap* (Lahore) of the 2nd March, regrets that the Finance Member should have ignored the fact that India stands to gain nothing by incurring heavy expenses on the maintenance of Indian Army, suppression of the Frontier Tribes, separation of Burma and the introduction of Provincial Autonomy. In its opinion the budget as it stands will satisfy nobody; the deficit itself, its causes and the measures to be adopted to meet it are all wrong. In its issue dated the 5th March, the paper remarks that the proposed increase in duty will not only be a falsification of the public feelings but will also invite a new agitation against it.

7. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 3rd March, observes that instead of curtailing its expenses and reforming the administration the Government is levying tax after tax upon the people despite the fact that they are on the verge of starvation. Industry has been ruined, business is sinking down and unemployment is on the increase but Government is devising new means of taxation. It is a novel way of protecting Indian sugar industry that an additional tax is proposed to be imposed on sugar to aggravate the difficulties of poor people. Every year Government realizes 35 crores of rupees from Indians, but has never taken the trouble of teaching them the methods to be adopted for their defence and security in case of warfare.

8. In the opinion of the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 3rd March, the principle on which Sir James Grigg has drawn the Budget bespeaks the height of misfortune of the oppressed and helpless India. Indians, the paper remarks, neither grumble against the present system of Administration nor do they deplore the mercilessness of those who are responsible for the working of this system, for the reason that it is they alone who are at fault, because they tolerate this system and do not work for the success of the Congress struggle for its modification. Had this Budget been drawn by a well-wisher of the Indians, he must have curtailed the expenses of Administration, reduced the salaries of Ministers and other high officials and found ample surplus to be spent on education, health, sanitation and Industrial progress of the country.

(b) The Congress and acceptance of Office.

9. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 28th February, warns Congressmen not to forget the lessons of the civil disobedience movement itself and says that that movement, whatever else may be said

for it, did not surely lead the Congress to the objective it had placed before itself. The same reasons that stood in the way of the Congress attaining its objective in the campaign of civil disobedience are sure to stand in the way of the pro-office section of the Congress attaining its objective, if it brings itself into immediate and premature conflict with the Governor over the major issue of Self-Government. It is because this is so that the paper has from the first held the view that the only right policy for the Congress at this stage is rigidly to avoid the apparently contradictory but really identical paths of accepting office and following a policy of consistent, uniform and thorough-going obstruction, and to wait in patience till the hour of definite and decisive action comes and in the meantime to follow a policy of constructive co-operation and discriminating obstruction. While, on the one hand, it should lose no opportunity of strengthening the forces of resistance to the new constitution, it should, on the other, do everything in its power to consolidate its hold on the country by offering its wholehearted co-operation in carrying out measures calculated to benefit the masses. The first part of this policy rules out immediate acceptance of office. The second equally rules out immediate wholesale obstruction.

10. The *Milap* (Lahore) of the 4th March thinks that it is the wish of the masses that the Congress should accept office and thereby take hold of the real power in its own hands in order to work and fight for their good and welfare; otherwise they will think that it has shrunk from its duty towards the electors. In the paper's opinion the Congress should accept office by way of experiment to test the validity of the powers alleged to have been conferred on Indians.

11. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 5th March, advises the Congress to accept office in Provinces in which it has captured majority of seats in the Legislatures and start work for the benefit of the country. In case, the paper observes, Government places obstructions in its way it should leave the Legislatures. This will enable the people to judge how far Government is prepared to see the country's interests being advanced in constitutional ways. Government while placing the reins of administration in the hands of reactionaries, will not be able to say that the Congress has voluntarily refused to co-operate with it.

(c) The Punjab Council of Ministers : Hindu view.

12. The Provincial Press has generally expressed satisfaction with the personnel of the future Council of Ministers as announced recently in an official *communiqué*. Commenting on the announcement the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 3rd March, says that the Unionist Party is in a clear majority in the new Punjab Legislature and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan is the recognized and accepted leader of that Party. Constitutional theory as well as constitutional usage, therefore, made it imperative for His Excellency to offer the Chief Ministership to him and to form the Ministry in consultation with him.

The terms of the official announcement show that this is exactly the course which His Excellency has followed. Of the other Ministers three are Unionists while Sir Sunder Singh Majithia is the recognized leader of the Khalsa National Party and Mr. Manohar Lal is an Independent member of the urban Hindu group. Four of the Ministers have already been members of the Punjab Government. Whatever view one may hold of his Party and its programme, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan is personally held in high esteem in all political circles and it is a matter of common knowledge that in this very matter of the formation of the Ministry he has exhibited some of the essential qualifications of leadership. Sir Sunder Singh Majithia was the first Indian member of the Punjab Executive Council, and he undoubtedly commands the confidence of a large section of his community. Chowdhri Chhotu Ram, besides being an ex-Minister, is too important a member of the Unionist Party and has for too long a time been one of its recognized leaders to be ignored in the formation of a Ministry by a Unionist Chief. Mr. Manohar Lal has before now held with distinction the important office of Education Minister and as a recognized authority on economics he may be expected to give as good an account of himself as the first Indian Finance Minister in the Province if, as is generally expected, the portfolio of finance will be entrusted to him as the limitations under which he will have to work will permit. Sir Sikander has succeeded in obtaining as good a team as the actual constitution and composition of the Punjab Legislative Assembly could give him.

13. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 4th March, admits that the selection was not an easy task. It does not know what the attitude of the National Progressives will be in the matter. The selection of Mr. Manohar Lal in the place of Dr. Sir Gokal Chand, the paper remarks, may or may not, be acceptable to the Hindus, but it is certainly most acceptable to the Unionist Party. He is a capable man; the only trouble with him seems to be that he does not carry the Urban Hindu opinion with him. He is most acceptable to the Unionists, let him make himself acceptable to the Hindus as well. The paper has similar advice to tender to Rao Bahadur Chaudhri Chhotu Ram. He is a *pucca* Unionist; there was no doubt at any time about his inclusion in the Cabinet. He commands the confidence of the Unionists; let him try to win the confidence of the Hindus as well, and thereby mitigate the poison of communalism. The paper is particularly glad at the inclusion of Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana in the Cabinet; he is a young man of promise, and his presence in the Ministry will infuse the freshness of youth into the Cabinet.

14. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 4th March, praises the sense of self-respect shown by the Hindu party in not accepting a ministry and expresses surprise at the attitude of the Khalsa National Party which has agreed to co-operate with the Unionist Party although there is a world of difference between the programmes of the two

parties. The paper believes that strong feelings will prevail in the Sikh Community against the Khalsa National Party and the Akali Party will gain more popularity. The future of the Unionist Party, the paper observes, is dark. As not a single member of the Hindu Party has been taken in the Cabinet the Unionist Party will fail to enlist the support of the Hindu members.

15. The *Hindu* (Lahore) of the 4th March, asserts that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan offered a ministry to the Hindu Party, but the latter refused to accept it on the ground that it could not follow the programme of the Unionist Party.

16. The *Karam Vir* (Lahore) of the 4th March, is greatly pained by the non-inclusion of Dr. Sir Gokal Chand Narang, who, according to the paper, is the best representative of the Hindus, in the Punjab Cabinet. By selecting a wrong man in his place, the paper says, Government has heaped intolerable insult on the Hindu Community, which is already sick of the Communal Award and the pro-Muslim policy of Government. It is a pity that the Government and the Unionist Party should have wholly ignored the Hindu Party. The paper hopes that Raja Narendra Nath, leader of the Hindu Party, will not allow the national flag to lower in any case.

17. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 5th March, expresses the view that so far as communalist Muslims are concerned they can have no cause of complaint against the personnel of the Cabinet as their demand has been conceded by the inclusion of three Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet. Of course the Noon group may feel to have been wronged as no member of this group has been taken, but the wrong has already been redressed by the appointment of Sir Firoz Khan Noon as High Commissioner for India in London. What is strange is the inclusion of Mr. Manohar Lal in the Cabinet. His past record has been praiseworthy from the Hindu point of view, but the Muslims have been his bitter opponents. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, however, holds him the most acceptable person to the Unionist Party. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Manohar Lal now protects Hindu interests or not.

• 18. The *Shakti* (Lahore) of the 5th March, thinks that the personnel of the new Ministry has created feelings of great dissatisfaction among the Hindus and enquires why should the Hindus not feel dissatisfied ? How can they feel safe under 'Muslim rule'. The situation, the paper observes, demands that all Hindu members of the new Assembly, to whatever Party they may belong, should unite and form a strong Opposition Party and by raising objections at every step and passing non-confidence motions drive the Unionist Ministry into a tight corner and thus prevent it from working.

(d) The Punjab Council of Ministers : Muslim view.

19. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 4th March, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has been exceedingly well advised in the choice of his colleagues for the first Cabinet of autonomous

Punjab. What is more, the paper says, the personnel of the Cabinet will inspire the confidence of all communities and will be received with as great satisfaction by the general public as it has won the approval of His Excellency the Governor. The interests of the Province and its future progress are thus safe in the hands of the new Cabinet and there is every hope that the new Constitution will be worked in such a way as to extract the last ounce of good from the Reforms. Provincial Autonomy postulates joint responsibility of the Cabinet and this has been fully assured. Non-Unionist members of the new Ministry are persons who are prepared to carry out the programme of the Unionist Party and work as a team with their colleagues. As Muslim also the paper feels entirely satisfied with the composition of the new Cabinet. Almost all members of the Ministry enjoy a well-deserved reputation for their freedom from anti-Muslim bias. Mr. Manohar Lal's administration as Education Minister undoubtedly gave rise to genuine Muslim complaints The paper, however, trusts that he has grown wiser and more tolerant with the passage of time and it is to be hoped that he will in the near future use his undoubted talents in such a way as to set at rest the apprehensions of those who rightly condemned his exhibition of communal bias in the past. The Punjab being an essentially agricultural Province, it was expected that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan would choose most of his colleagues from among the representatives of rural classes. These hopes have been fully realized, a majority of Muslim as well as non-Muslim members of the new Cabinet being representatives of rural areas and all being inspired with the desire to work whole-heartedly for the uplift of their Motherland. The first Premier of autonomous Punjab has thus once more given proof of his great statesmanlike qualities, his foresight, his breadth of vision and his large heartedness and completely justified the confidence reposed in him by all communities by the selection of the personnel of the new Cabinet.

20. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 5th March, is thoroughly satisfied with the personnel of the Cabinet and advises the public to make constructive criticism so as to enable the Cabinet to derive the greatest benefit from the new Constitution as this is the best way of serving the Province.

21. According to the *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 5th March, the chief characteristic of the Cabinet is that the majority of the ministers hold titles and honours and if Sir Herbert Emerson himself had selected ministers from among the loyalists, the composition of the Cabinet would not have been different. The other feature of the Cabinet is that it is neither a single party ministry nor a coalition The fate of the Province is going in the hands of a Cabinet the composition of which is not encouraging for the progressive element. In certain circles, the paper observes, it is thought that the constitution of the Cabinet will create a split in the Unionist Party and make an addition to the Opposition, but it can have no such hope. Indeed, if the Congress had not resorted to non-co-operation there was every likelihood of the progressive elements joining hands with it in wrecking the edifice of reactionaries which has appeared before the Province in the form of the Cabinet.

22. In the opinion of the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 6th March sensible sections of the province will not be satisfied with the personnel of the Punjab Cabinet as it is not in conformity with the principles and beliefs professed by the Unionist Party, cannot safeguard the interests of the Muslims and cannot fulfil the promise of serving the province.

(e) The Punjab Council of Ministers : Sikh view.

23. The *Akali Patrika* (Lahore) of the 5th March, is of opinion that the ministry will not last long as it has a weak representative character, possesses ordinary ability, is ignorant of political principles, rests on temptations and has no stable constructive policy before it. It will be quite difficult for it to win the confidence of the Assembly and to face the coming national agitations, the spirit of freedom and the movements produced by poverty and unemployment. To congratualate Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and His Excellency the Governor on the selection of this kind of ministry is to mislead them.

INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

New Railway Pass Rules.

24. *The Tribune* (Lahore) of the 5th March, reports that in reply to a question raised in the Assembly by Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena regarding new pass rules, Sir Mohamed Zafrullah Khan stated that it was not possible to evalute the advantages accruing to the railways on account of the changes in the rules. The Railway Member, however, admitted that he had received representations regarding the new rules from the railway staff who were adversely affected by them. Sir Mohamed did not state what action, if any, the Railway Board was going to take on those representations. Both he and the Railway Board authorities, the paper observes, know full well that no recent action of the railway administration has created so much resentment among the staff as the new pass rules. This is quite evident from the large number of protest meetings that the railway employees have held and are holding at different places. The Indian Railwa men's Federation took up this question at its half-yearly meeting with the Railway Board a few weeks ago. As the result of its request, the Chief Commissioner of Railways gave an assurance to the effect that the whole question would be reconsidered in the light of the representations made by the staff. The paper hopes that the assurance will be carried out soon and that the pass rules will be modified in such a way as to meet the point of view, especially of the subordinate and low-paid staff.

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The 6th March, 1937.

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 13th March, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Jewish Conference held in Sofia.

1. Referring to the report about the decision arrived at the Jewish Conference held in Sofia last month that 20 lakhs more Jews should settle in Palestine, the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 9th March, remarks that the decision is the outcome of the intentions of the powers that want to convert the Arab majority in Palestine into a minority and to leave it at the mercy of the Jews. If, the paper adds, the British Government does not want to worsen the situation in Palestine it should declare that the decision of the Conference being impracticable will not be carried into effect.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) The Assembly cut motion calling attention to the treatment of Indians Overseas.

2. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 10th March, does not question the wisdom of Government in not challenging a division on the Assembly cut motion calling attention to the treatment of Indians abroad. The Congress motion, says the paper, as pointed out by some speakers, was in reality not a censure of the Government of India but of the British Government in general and the Colonial Office of the British Government in particular. A summary of the debate would show that Hindus and Muslims, Indians and Europeans, Congressmen and non-Congressmen are all united in their denunciation of the humiliating and grossly unfair treatment of Indians abroad. The question is, why is India becoming the Cinderella of the nations? The only answer is that India is a subject country. If Englishmen received discriminatory treatment in other countries even individually, let alone racially, England would go to war in defence of her nationals' rights. But no one cares for India because Indians are a nation of slaves. What is urgently needed is the education of the masses. Once this is done, India's power will become irresistible, and not to talk of British colonies, even independent countries will think twice before they put undue restrictions on her sons.

3. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 10th March, refers to the Act passed in 1924 authorizing the Government to take retaliatory action in certain circumstances and on certain conditions and says that not only had no such action been taken in any case, but the Government had not even made the necessary rules under the Act. It is hardly to the point to remind the House, as one official member did, that a policy of retaliation could not be adopted against South Africa, because, while the number of Indians in South Africa was 200,000 the number of South Africans in India was no more than 100. Those who advocate a policy of retaliation do not mean that such a policy should be adopted in all cases, irrespective of circumstances, but that the Government should have the will and the ability to adopt it where circumstances necessitate or justify it.

Can the present Government of India claim to have this will and this ability ? If not, and the actual facts rule out any other answer the censure passed on them by the House was fully justified.

(b) The Congress and acceptance of Offices.

4. In the opinion of the *New Times* (Lahore) of the 8th March, so long as the British Government is here, there can be no such thing as wrecking any constitution imposed by it. Of course, Indian leaders can expose the hollowness and insubstantial character of the Reforms introduced, and there can be no better means to this purpose than to accept offices and exercise full powers, leaving it to the Governor to interfere and obstruct national policies in the name of his "special powers". In many cases, the paper observes, Governors in the interests of their own reputation and in pursuance of well-established constitutional usages, will prefer not to use their special powers and thus not impede ministers in their policies and the execution of those policies. In some cases, they may. It is for Congressmen so to act as to put Governors in the wrong on those occasions when they exercise their special powers. The public will be on the side of the Ministers and against the Governors. It is in this wise only that the country can be served and the defects of the Government of India Act exposed.

5. The *Milap* (Lahore) of the 9th March, thinks that the Congress should accept office even though the Governor gives no assurance that he will not use his special powers Accordingly it asks Congressmen to form Ministries in Provinces in which they have captured majority of seats in the Legislature and begin working the Constitution in a way which may prove useful for the country.

6. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 10th March, expresses the view that it is not the intention of the Government of India Act that the traditions of the British Parliament be established in India. The King, as such, cannot preside over a session of the British cabinet, but a Governor can become president of a session of the Council of Ministers if he likes. The powers of Ministers will be very limited. It has been estimated that they will have no control over 80 per cent of the Budget. There are Departments like the Indian Civil Service and Indian Police Service with which they will have nothing to do. The most noteworthy feature of the new Constitution is that the Governor has been empowered to run the Constitution according to his discretion and wishes. He will be answerable to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State for India and not to the Legislative Assembly. When such is the reality of the powers of Ministers is it anything but waste of time to discuss the question of office acceptance by the Congress ?

7. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 11th March, the appealing terms in which not only Anglo-Indian journals in India and officials like the Finance Member, but even British journals like the *Landon Times* have been asking the Congress to accept

office under the new Constitution can only mean one of two things. Either, the paper says, we have all been labouring under a great delusion all these years as to the true attitude of these new friends of the Congress, or their present declarations are not to be taken at their face value. The first explanation is ruled out by the fact that these newspapers and officials themselves made no secret in the past of their rooted and uncompromising hostility to the Congress. The changed attitude of these once open enemies of the Congress has a deeper meaning. Having failed to discredit the Congress they now want the Congress to discredit itself. They know that the new Constitution is an entirely different thing from what the Congress has been asking for all these years, different not merely in degree but in kind. If the Congress, the papers remarks, accepts office under such a Constitution, it is almost sure either to fail egregiously or to come into immediate conflict with the Governors, out of which it may not, in the actual conditions of to-day, be able to emerge triumphantly. In any case there is no question of the Congress being able to reach its professed objective of independence through the wrecking of the new Constitution by accepting office. This is the sole reason why people whom nothing would please more than the downfall of the Congress, are passionately entreating it to accept office. Of course, the Congress stands committed to its programme. Whether it accepts office or not, it is bound to do all it can to push forward that programme even under the new Constitution ; and then when that Constitution is ended it will bend all its energies and resources to the carrying out of that programme in its entirety. This is all that the Congress ever promised to do.

(c) Congress Ministries and Minorities.

8. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 9th March refers to the view expressed by certain Congress leaders that they will not accommodate non-Congressites in their Ministries and asks the following question :—When Muslims have stood aloof from the Congress and have not contested in the elections on the Congress ticket, will they not be taken in the Congress Ministries and the instructions given to the Governors to see that all the important minority communities are adequately represented on the Ministries be ignored ? Or will they be obliged to accept certain wrong principles of the Congress or to have no share in the administration of their provinces ?

9. Writing in the *Milap* (Lahore) of the 10th March, Ranbir opines that no non-Congressite, should be given any place in the Ministry of the province where the Congress Party enjoys a clear majority in the Provincial Assembly. The Congress movement is a revolutionary movement which recognizes no distinction of caste and creed and stands for placing the reins of government in the hands of the patriots and well-wishers of the country. The people who are opposing the Congress, impeding the way of India's independence and supporting communalism are the enemies of India, whom the

future national Government of the country will not tolerate, but will treat them as untouchables as the present Soviet Government of Russia is treating the white Russians. He feels that if the Muslims continue to follow journals of the stamp of the *Inqilab* and leaders of the type of Jinnah and Abdul Qayyum, their condition in the free India will be most unenviable. The writer sounds a note of warning to all the communities that if they desire to harness this irresistible but slow revolution to their advantage, they should join hands with the nationalists forthwith.

10. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 11th March, remarks that the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the Punjab have 45 per cent of the total number of seats in the new Legislature, but they have been given 50 per cent representation in the Provincial Cabinet. A better and more generous method of making a Provincial Cabinet representative of all communities as well as ensuring its joint responsibility could not be found, and the Congress, if it decides to accept offices, would do well to imitate the example set by the Unionist Party in the Punjab.

(d) The Punjab Council of Ministers.

11. The *Sunrise* (Lahore) of the 6th March, thinks that the Cabinet as constituted fairly represents the three communities in the province. The personnel of the Cabinet, the paper observes, has given cause for jubilation to some of the outstanding figures of the Opposition, who characterize it as the weakest Cabinet, suggesting that it is weak both because of its heterogeneous elements and because of the lack of experience of some of its members. But it is quite out of place to talk beforehand of early defeats or dissolution of the Cabinet, for experience is not an indispensable requirement for one to be a capable minister, and any variance of views which may have existed between the non-Unionist members and the Unionist Chief Minister and his other Unionist colleagues must have been reconciled before the former had been prevailed upon to join the Cabinet. If the new Government carries on its work in a spirit of doing real service to the people, and redeems the promises which they have been holding out to the province they have nothing to fear. In this connection the Unionists owe a real duty towards the Muslim community. The present Cabinet can justify itself only by its performances, and only by its achievements will it falsify the ominous forecasts of the 'Opposition'.

12. The *New Times* (Lahore) of the 8th March, thinks that a mere glance at the names, which make up the Punjab Ministry, will convince any impartial reader that the Muslim section of the provincial cabinet is weaker in every respect than the non-Muslim section. Another fact which will strike one on an examination of the personnel of the Cabinet is that elements have been introduced into the Cabinet who are not members of the Unionist Party, but belong to sections which have been throughout the severest critics of the Unionist Party. One thing, the paper remarks, is clear

namely, that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has in essence formed a coalition Government, though he does not in terms say so. It was his duty to the province, when forming a coalition, to seek the co-operation, in the same way in which he sought the co-operation of Raja Narendra Nath—of those who were politically advanced and represented the cause of constitutional freedom. But perhaps he dare not do so. The repercussion of such a step would have jeopardized him with the official world, which has put him up and on whose support he depends for his political existence. The paper feels that the Muslims of the province should ponder over what has taken place and take immediate steps to disband this so-called Unionist Party and set up in its place the reality of a true Muslim party for which Mr. Jinnah pleaded so earnestly, but against which Sir Sikander for his selfish ends fought so vehemently.

13. The *Karam Vir* (Lahore) of the 10th March, thinks that the non-inclusion of a member of the Hindu party in cabinet constitutes an insult of the party at the hands of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. This haughtiness on the part of the future Chief Minister of the Punjab, the paper remarks, will cost him dear. The paper concludes by asking the Hindus not to feel disappointed but to meet the situation manly.

(e) Frontier Policy of the Government of India.

14. *Al-Fazl* (Qadian) of the 9th March, takes to task the Hindu papers which are advising Government to put an end to the unrest on the frontier by taking possession of the independent territory and says that this very advice exposes the hollowness of their assertion that they want to see India free. When they cannot tolerate to see other people free how can it be believed that they really want to liberate India? Their object is manifest. They want to establish Hindu Raj in India and make life burdensome to the Muslims.

15. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 10th March, expresses the hope that the huge concentration of troops at Mari Indus is but the prelude to really drastic action such as will prove to the Frontier fanatics that they must live in peace with their neighbours or suffer the consequences. The paper enquires what are the Frontier Redshirts doing in the matter? They claim to be friends of the Hindus and the Congress. Moreover, it seem most impolitic to condemn Government's Frontier policy, as Mr. Asaf Ali tried to do in the Assembly unless Congress Muslims are strong enough to force their Frontier co-religionists to purge themselves of fanatical communalism. If they think that the Faqir of Ipi and other so-called champions of Islam are only furnishing an opportunity to the Military Department of Government to pursue its forward policy, then they must come out boldly to condemn these fanatics and warn the tribesmen of the consquences of their fanaticism.

16. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 10th March, wants to know why, after years of fighting, expenditure of millions of

India's hard-earned money, loss of thousands of lives and untold misery and hardships inflicted on the poor frontier tribes, who have been subjected to merciless air-bombing and all other "civilized methods of warfare," should matters stand where they were, nay, grow much worse? The Government's explanation, the paper remarks, is that certain fanatical Mullahs have stirred up all this pother by raising the cry of Islam in danger, and that the unrest is in particular due to the case of the Bannu Hindu girl and in some respects to the Shahidganj Mosque trouble. Now, no one denies the fanatical character of the Mullahs, or the existence of the other grievance, but the question is why has this unrest on the Frontier existed for so many years, even before any of these unfortunate events occurred? Did the Mullahs anticipate these events and raise the bogey of Islam in danger, when in fact no such danger existed? On the other hand, to all fair-minded people this excuse of religious fanaticism at the present moment must appear very thin and they must seek the reasons elsewhere. The Government of India, in their heart of hearts, must also know fully well that this is merely an excuse for operations carried out for quite different reasons. If the Government of India had not embarked upon the policy of "peaceful penetration" and had left the tribemen to themselves, no such "Frontier operations" would have been needed. That this is so, is also clear from the Government's own admission that the present trouble is confined to only Waziristan and all other tribes, including Mahsuds, who were up last year, are peaceful. If the unrest had been religious in origin, it would have spread all over the tribal area instead of remaining confined to Waziristan. Is it not a fact that the present trouble follows the extension of "peaceful penetration," in the shape of road-building and other activities in this area? In its issue, dated the 12th March, the paper says that what Government apparently wants is to deprive the tribesmen of their independence piecemeal, by following a policy of "peaceful penetration." But if Dr. Khan Sahib is to be believed this policy hardly deserves the name of "peaceful". Tying up people and making them bend with large stones on their backs, fining whole villages because of the crimes of individuals, pulling down and burning houses and bombing people from the air even without previous warning are methods which are rightly regarded as barbarous by the civilized world. If Britishers are following such a policy on the Indian border, it hardly lies in their mouths to condemn the Italian atrocities in Abyssinia or appeal to the parties to the civil war in Spain to desist from savage methods of warfare, in the name of humanity. The Foreign Secretary characterized as incorrect the statement of the member from Peshawar that the Government pursued their policy in an aggressive and provocative manner. The heavy fine imposed on the Mahsuds for the murder of Captain Keogh by a single member of the tribe and for their refusal or inability to betray his identity, however, shows that Dr. Khan Sahib's assertions are not totally wrong and misleading.

17. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 11th March, justifies the Frontier policy of the Government of India and says that when tribesmen disturb the peace of the country there is no reason why steps should not be taken to bring them to their senses.

18. The *Karam Vir* (Lahore) of the 11th March, is of opinion that so long as the scheme of dividing these free tribes equally between the Afghan Government and the Government of India is not given a practical shape it will be difficult for India to breathe in peace and tranquillity.

19. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 10th March, fails to understand the reasonableness of extraordinary military precautions which Government is taking on the Frontier. Whether these steps, the paper enquires, are being taken on the basis of a real danger or whether they are being prompted by the same forward policy which is being acted upon by the Government for some time past. The paper regrets to observe that Government is playing a dangerous game without justification. It cannot support the policy of subduing the tribes and conquering their land by dint of sword because it can serve no useful purpose. The paper is of opinion that if the tribes are allowed to live free and to develop their economic recourses India can gain much from defensive, economic and financial view-points. In its issue, dated the 12th March, the paper strongly condemns the attitude adopted by Hindu journalists and statesmen in supporting the Frontier policy of the Government of India and advising Government to annex trans-Frontier independent territory and remarks that it can be said in reply that there is no reason why the tribes of the Frontier and the Muslims of India should not make it their national policy to enslave the Hindus who have remained under their subjection for centuries together. But as times have changed it cannot give such an advice to the Muslims especially because it will strengthen the Imperialist policy of Britain.

20. In the opinion of the *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 13th March, unrest on the Frontier is due to the forward policy of the Government of India. Government tramples upon the freedom of the tribes, enters their territory and constructs roads with the result that the tribes get excited and it becomes incumbent upon them according to *shariat* to oppose the entry of the English into their territory. The paper asserts that if Government were to abandon their forward policy neither the tribes would give any cause of complaint nor would India waste crores of rupees on military operations in the Frontier.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

All-India National Convention.

21. The *Hindu* (Lahore) of the 12th March, understands that communalist leaders like Mr. Jinnah, M. Zafar Ali Khan and Malik Barkat Ali have been invited to attend the All-India National Convention to be held in Delhi and expresses its inability to understand what compromise the Congress leaders want to conclude with the Muslims. In the Communal Award, the paper observes, Government has given the Muslims what they themselves did not expect. Negotiations for communal understanding can have any meaning if the Muslims are prepared to part with something of what the Award gives them. This, however, cannot be expected of them. If in order to set up a united front against Government the Congress wants to strike a bargain with the Muslims at the expense of the Hindus it will be better for the Congress not to employ such a move.

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The 13th March, 1937.

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 20th March, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Spanish Affairs : Non-intervention Scheme.

1. The *Vishwa Bandhu* (Lahore) of the 14th March is of opinion that the supervision of Spanish waters at the instance of Britain will fail like the sanctions in the case of Italy. It will not be in the power of the supervising ships to check any one from landing on the Spanish shores. All that they are empowered to do is to report the matter to the Non-intervention Committee. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that help from Russia and France—the only supporters of the Spanish Government—will stop strengthening thereby the hands of the rebels leading ultimately to the establishment of Fascist Government in Spain. In the matter of Abyssinia it was France which was responsible for the tragedy ; now it is the turn of Britain to follow the example of France in the matter of Spain.

2. Referring to a recent British Official Wireless that an emissary of the British Board of Trade has been having confabulations with the rebel General Franco in Spain, regarding what trade facilities Britain is to be afforded in that country, should the Insurgents succeed, the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 19th March, says that this is the very negation of international probity. Not satisfied with discussing future trade relations with the possible victor in the Civil War, British officials have likewise been carrying on discussions with the representatives of the Spanish Republican Government in London, with the same object. The policy then appears to be that, whichever side wins, British trade stands to gain. With all this talk of non-intervention, in which Britain has taken the lead all along, this anxiety to secure trading facilities seems more than out of place. Hitler and Mussolini have gone about matters in quite a different manner. They have secured in advance a goodly slice of the spoils of victory by bringing very practical aid to the insurgents. How far the moral aspect of this armed assistance compares with Britain's reported eagerness to gain trading concessions the paper leaves it to ethical experts to determine. To the plain man it looks as if British statesmen are too high-minded to intervene actively on either side of the Civil War, yet they are more than anxious that, whatever happens, Britain may be in the front rank when the spoils are being distributed.

3. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 19th March, the non-intervention scheme will become totally farcical if the question of financial aid to either of the parties in the Spanish conflict is also not settled satisfactorily. It is difficult to understand the Russian view who, while willing to discuss the question on principle, refused to agree to any discussion affecting assets of the Spanish Government, including the gold of the Bank of Spain now lying with the French Government. A debate, the paper observes, ensued but no solution was reached and a deadlock resulted, the

Fascist powers refusing to proceed with other matters pertaining to the supervision scheme, unless the financial question was decided. Without going into the merits of the case, it can be said that if the Soviet's view is accepted the net result will be that one party in Spain will continue to obtain financial aid from foreign sources, in addition to the money belonging to the Bank of Spain to which it might have some claim. This is obviously unfair and if non-intervention is to be a little more than merely lip service, it should not be subject to any exception and should be enforced with the least possible delay.

(b) Situation in Palestine.

4. Alluding to the report regarding five Jews having been shot dead in Palestine by some unknown person, the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 18th March, says that although the Arabs have made no declaration to launch any regular campaign yet every individual Arab regards himself as the standard-bearer of some decisive movement or the other. As a matter of fact the work of organizing public opinion which the Arab leaders wanted to do has been accomplished and the determination of every Arab has become so firm that he has acquired the power of relying on himself for every action of his. The question is who is responsible for creating such a spirit in the Arabs. The answer to this should come from British statesmen with whom rests the responsibility of disappointing the Arabs. Had Britain conceded the demands of the Arabs to some extent, the Arabs would not have been goaded to the extreme. If even now these statesmen do not realize their mistake every sensible person will have to deplore their mental decline.

(c) Italy and Muslim countries.

5. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 21st March, reproduces from an Egyptian magazine of Cairo, an article stating that Italy is striving to extend Roman Empire over north-eastern Africa and Arabia and is making preparations in Tripoli and on the Egyptian frontier with a view to conquering all the Islamic countries.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) His Excellency the Viceroy's Speech.

6. Commenting on the passage in the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy made by him at the dinner given to him by the President of the Council of State at New Delhi on Monday the 15th March in which he referred to the apprehensions and doubts troubling many minds about the new Constitution and said that if all concerned approached in faith and courage the great charge which was laid on them, then these doubts and misapprehensions would disappear like mist before sunshine, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 17th March, remarks that

one has only to examine the true nature of the new Constitution to realize that the apprehensions and doubts entertained by political India cannot be so easily dispelled. Take the most important of these apprehensions, those affecting His Excellency's own sphere of the administration. It is not any Congress leader, but a high constitutional authority whose views on the subject of Indian self-government are mainly identical with those of the authors of the new Constitution, who has expressed these apprehensions and doubts in the following emphatic words :—

> " The units of which the federation is composed are too disparate to be joined suitably together and it is too obvious that on the British side the scheme is favoured to order to provide an element of pure conservatism in order to combat dangerous elements of democracy contributed by British India. Moreover, the withholding of defence and external affairs from federal control, render the alleged concession of responsibility all but meaningless. Whether a federation built on incoherent lines can operate successfully is wholly conjectural ; if it does, it will probably be due to the virtual disappearance of responsibility and the assertion of the controlling power of the Governor-General backed by the conservative elements of the States and British India. "

It is not by any such vague and abstract assurance, the paper says, as that given by His Excellency, but by a definite declaration that he will administer the reserved Departments and both he and the Governors will, if at all, use their special powers in a spirit of responsiveness to Indian opinion, and that they will fully co-operate with Indian opinion in securing the early elimination of the reservations and safeguards, that His Excellency can allay these fears and doubts which, on the face of them, are well-founded ? Here as elsewhere sympathy to be of any real value must express itself in the form of policy.

7. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 17th March, His Excellency's reference to the " bounden duty " of the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces to stand above party interests and party differences will be cordially welcomed by all. But the insistence on their keeping steadily before their minds their " obligations not only to those whose cause has triumphed, but also to those who have tasted the bitterness of defeat ", though unexceptionable in general terms, is possibly liable to misinterpretation. The Viceroy, the paper remarks, would indeed have been well advised to stress at the same time the need of the Governors interfering as little as possible with the work of their Ministries consistently with their duties under the Instrument of Instructions. It is a matter for satisfaction that His Excellency is decidedly opposed to the intermeddling of the Central Government in the Provincial sphere.

8. The *Hindi Milap* (Lahore) of the 18th March, thinks that if the assurances of co-operation held out by the Viceroy are to materialize, the political situation in India is bound to improve, but the paper cannot be oblivious of the fact that certain Governors are bent upon using their special powers. The responsibility of the success of the New Constitution, it adds, devolves on the Government. Unless it changes its heart, no Constitution will prove useful to the masses in India.

(b) The Congress and Office acceptance.

9. Referring to the decision of the All-India Congress Committee in favour of office acceptance, in particular to the change in the phraseology of the proviso attached to it, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 20th March, remarks that now the phrase 'constitutional activities' means exactly the same thing as activities " within the constitution " and is, therefore, open to all the objections which have been urged against the latter phrase. Like the latter it will be interpreted differently by the Governors and the Congress ministers, and while averting immediate trouble will make future trouble not only possible but inevitable. As soon as a situation arises in which the Governor is required under the Government of India Act to use his special powers differences between the ministry and the Governor will begin, and those differences will lead to a collision and the collision to a deadlock without the Congress being able to prove that the Governor has been guilty of a breach of faith. The Congress will thus have gained nothing by the so-called assurance obtained by it.

10. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 20th March, observes that now that the Congress has decided to accept offices, it will see to it that the minorities are adequately represented in Congress Ministries. As the elections have shown, the Congress commands the confidence of non-Muslims only It is now up to the Congress to win the confidence of Muslims in the formation of its Ministries and in the work of those Ministries both in its legislatures and outside.

11. The *Akali Patrika* (Lahore) of the 21st March, avers that the decision will be carried out at the place where the leader of the majority party is satisfied that Governor will not exercise his special powers, and not at any other place. In other words, the Congress has thrown the responsibility of working or not working the new Constitution on the shoulders of Governors. If Governors do not give the required assurance, it will become evident to the world that the Congress is prepared to co-operate with the Government, but the Government is not prepared to co-operate with the Congress.

12. The *Ingilab* (Lahore) of the 21st March, characterizes the decision of the All-India Congress Committee as unintelligible and ambiguous inasmuch as it contains elements of destruction as well

as a claim to abide by the Constitution and it is evident that both cannot go together. Either, the paper observes, the Congress ought to have declared boycott of the new Constitution or decided to derive the greatest benefit from it for the good of the masses. The decision has made the position of the Congress a mere puzzle and for its solution one will have to wait and see the attitude of the Congressite Ministries.

(c) The Congress and the Muslim League.

13. Referring to a Lucknow telegram according to which the general feeling among the Muslim League M. L. A's. assembled at Lucknow in connection with the meeting of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board is that "it would be better if some sort of an understanding were reached between the Muslim League and the Congress," the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 15th March, remarks that if the Muslim League M. L. A's. really want another pact like the Lucknow Pact, there is no doubt that all that is good and true in the Congress will definitely and irrevocably set its face against the idea. The Muslim League is a purely communal organization, and the Congress which rightly claims to be India's supreme national organization should, under no circumstances, enter into a communal pact with it any more than it should enter into a pact with any other communal organization. Under no circumstances should it again treat the Muslim community as a separate and independent party, as Mr. Jinnah would like it to be treated ; and it would be treating it as such a party if it were to enter into another pact with the Muslim League.

(d) Sir Wazir Hasan's statement.

14. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 19th March, refers to the statement which has just been issued by Sir Wazir Hasan, President of the last session of the Muslim League, calling upon his community to join the Congress in large numbers, and regrets that it was not made much earlier. Had the appeal, the paper remarks, been made before elections it is by no means improbable that the success of the Congress in the elections would have been even greater than it actually has been, and the Muslim community itself would have been able to claim their due share in that success. But better late than never. If the Muslim community will even now listen to these wise words of one of their accredited leaders, there is not the smallest doubt that the success of the struggle for national freedom in India will be much speedier than it would otherwise be. But if the Muslim community wish to participate in the struggle for freedom they must participate in it, as all other communities have done and are doing, as pure nationalists, without laying down any conditions. Another important thing which the Muslim leaders should bear in mind if they wish to join the Congress in large numbers is that in order to make their action effective they should make the Congress their sole political mouthpiece. In plain English, the Muslim League and other Muslim organizations should cease to exist or should function only for

social and not political purposes. The Congress will in that event be the sole political organization of all communities in India.

15. Writing in the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 19h March, Krishan says that the appeal of so great a man who has been a prominent member of the Muslim League all his life and also Chief Judge of the Lucknow Chief Court, should resound in the ears of each and every Muslim. His advice, the paper adds, carries a special importance and cannot be ignored.

16. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 20th March, differs from the *Tribune's* view that Sir Wazir Hasan's appeal is belated, and holds that it is just in season because the object with which it has been issued is above elections. The paper wishes that the Muslim League should work shoulder to shoulder with the Congress with the same enthusiasm and bravery as it did in 1929 in connection with the *Khilafat* movement. The paper is at a loss to understand why the *Tribune* insists on closing the doors of the Muslim League. In the opinion of the paper the existence of the Muslim League as a reformatory and political institution is necessary because the sections of the Muslims of India who are nervous on account of the present mentality of the Hindu Sabha, can remain in the Progressive Camp only on account of the Muslim League. If the Muslim League ceases to exist, the Hindu mentality which can be visualized even in the *Tribune's* comments on Sir Wazir Hasan's appeal, will drive the Muslims from the Congress. The paper assures Sir Wazir Hasan that the Muslims are by instinct lovers of freedom and will never tolerate the stigma that they lagged behind in the war of independence. If, the paper observes, Hindus are purged of the mania of Hindu Raj and wish to attain independence by brotherly co-operation, they will find the Muslims selfless workers in the cause of freedom.

(e) Proposed hartal on the 1st April.

17. The *Milap* (Lahore) of the 17th March, reproduces the appeal issued by the Propaganda Secretary, City Congress Committee, Lahore, asking the people of Lahore to observe *hartal* on the 1st April as a protest against the new Constitution which can prove of no use to India. Elsewhere the paper reports that the Congress workers have started propaganda to make the *hartal* a success. Accordingly the shop-keepers of every bazar and street have given undertakings to the effect that they will keep their business closed on the 1st April in order to take part in the demonstrations to be made against the new Constitution.

18. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 17th March, publishes an appeal made by the President of the Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Hind in the course of which he says that the new Constitution being a huge impediment in the way of the independence of the country it is the duty of every Muslim to tear it into pieces and asks the Muslims to co-operate with the Congress in observing hartal on the 1st April as a protest against the inauguration of the new Constitution.

19. Writing in the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 18th March, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan says that the reason why the Majlis-i-Ittihad-i-Millat (founded by the Maulana) at the last meeting of its Working Committee decided that the Muslims should not take part in the observance of the hartal was only because the new Constitution against which the hartal would be observed by way of protest also embodies the communal award for which the Congress has so far found out no substitute acceptable to the Muslims. The Majlis has, however, decided to observe the Frontier Day on the 26th March. The same day is fixed for making demonstration against the new Constitution and the British policy regarding Palestine. It is hoped that the Muslims will try their best to make the day a success.

(f) Pandit Jawahar Lal's Address to All-India Convention.

20. Referring to the presidential address of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to the All-India Convention which met at Delhi on the 19th March, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 20th March, says that no one, indeed, can read the address without having the conviction forced upon his mind that at the time of writing it Pandit Jawahar Lal still hoped, even though it might be a case of hoping against hope, that the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee would decide against office acceptance. Barring a few passages here and there the whole address is an impassioned and sustained plea not only for ending the Act but for a policy of wholesale non-co-operation with it, which necessarily includes non-acceptance of office. The question which is in the mind of every patriotic Indian to-day, if not also on his lips, is, what is Pandit Jawahar Lal's personal position with regard to the decision of the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee in this vital matter? It is no answer to this question to say that as long as he is the President of the Congress he is bound by that decision; for he can easily extricate himself from that position by resigning the Presidentship. The paper neither means nor suggests that Pandit Jawahar Lal should leave the Congress or set up a different organization for carrying out his objective. Not only is such a thing unthinkable, but the question itself does not arise. The Congress is a constitutional, democratic and dynamic body, and the essence of such a body is that it may be made by constitutional means to undo to-morrow what it has done to-day. Unless Pandit Jawahar Lal has during the last few days been partially converted to the view of the pro-office section of the Congress, that the acceptance of office would be the best means of wrecking the Act, or unless for some other reason he considers it necessary and right to give that view a trial, all that he is required to do is to lend not only his moral but his actual support to those who are opposed to the acceptance of office, so that before long the wrong step which the All-India Congress Committee has just taken may be retraced. Pandit Jawahar Lal took great pains in his address to elaborate the difference between Independence and Dominion Status and as in the past, he stood out resolutely for the former in all its fullness. But while the paper does not for one moment agree with him that Independence means or need mean the actual severance of the British connection

rather than the right to sever that connection which is implicit in Dominion Status itself, it is hardly necessary to point out that neither Independence nor Dominion Status is in the least likely to be expedited by the acceptance of office by the Congress at this stage.

III—INDIAN STATES

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) Congress propaganda during Assembly elections and certain Provincial Governments.

21. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 20th March, congratulates the Government of the Central Provinces on its decision to withdraw all the prosecutions and proceedings instituted in Berar in connection with electioneering speeches which were alleged to promote sedition. In the heat of the election campaign speeches are delivered which the speakers themselves in their calmer moments regret, and in consequence some latitude is allowed on such occasions in all civilized countries. The paper is decidedly of opinion that unless there is an open incitement to violence or a speech is calculated to lead to serious rioting or other grave consequences, the speaker should be let off with a warning. The C. P. Government has withdrawn not only all prosecutions for sedition but also a case of rioting, which it is of opinion was probably due to local exasperation. The paper commends the example set by the Government of the Central Provinces to other Provincial Governments and appeals to them to withdraw all prosecutions for sedition in connection with the recent general elections. This, the paper remarks' is all the more necessary in the Frontier Province and the Punjab, where the elections have on the whole been most orderly and proceeded without any hitch or serious breach of the peace.

22. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 19th March, asks the Frontier Government and the other Provincial Governments that are acting like it to take a leaf out of the book of the C. P. Government and withdraw all election prosecutions because in its opinion it will be difficult to harmonize them with the new order of things that is promised to be created under the new Constitution.

(b) Release of Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose.

23. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 19th March, is of opinion that the whole country will receive with a sense of profound relief and genuine satisfaction the news that Mr. Subhash Chandra Bose has been released. The actual terms of the order, says the paper, have not transpired, but it is certain that it is unconditional, for a conditional order of release in the case of a person like Mr. Bose is unthinkable.

24. In the opinion of the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 20th March, it is the policy of Government to yield to public agitation but in time. The paper adds that had Mr. Bose been released earlier, the Government would have been saved from unnecessary criticism and Mr. Bose's health would not have deteriorated so much.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,

The 20th March, 1937. *Punjab Civil Secretariat.*

155 PB—123—24-3-37—SGPP Lahore.

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 27th March, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Afghanistan's need for a port.

1. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 26th March understands from a Delhi newspaper that the object underlying the recent visit of Sardar Hashim Khan, Prime Minister of Afghanistan, to England is to secure a port on the coast of Sind after carrying on negotiations with the Home Government. The situation at present, the paper observes, is that goods imported for Afghanistan do not reach there direct but through the British territory. This state of affairs is injurious to Afghanistan not only from the commercial and political points of view but is also extremely troublesome from the military and defence points of view. Afghanistan can prove very useful ally to Britain ; and want of a port has deprived Afghanistan of all progress and advancement. It is in the interest of British Government herself that she should concede the demand of Afghanistan for a sea port.

(b) Mussolini as ' Protector of Islam '.

2. While referring to reports from Tripoli according to which Mussolini is stated to have proclaimed himself as ' Protector of Islam,' the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 21st March subjects to adverse criticism England's policy of ' slow strangulation of the Arabs of Palestine ' and France's encouragement of the ' settlement of Jews in North Africa and of Christian Asyrians in Syria ' and adds that Italy, the last of the predatory European Powers to grasp Muslim lands by the rape of Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Eritrea and Abyssinia, is not any the lesser enemy of Islam. She had not, however, so far joined England and France in their efforts to throw dust into the eyes of the world by posing as friends of Islam of which these two are never tired of proclaiming themselves. Gordon, Cormor, Kitchener, Allenby, Lawrence, Lauttey and others of the like, says the paper, were all Arab's friends, yet not one of them failed to aim death blows at Islam. Mussolini, the Italian Dictator, having completely emulated their achievements would also emulate them in their self-imposed role of friendship for Islam. In this, however, he has gone one better and has, according to reports from Tripoli which he is visiting at present, proclaimed himself as the " Protector of Islam ". England of course is only a " Defender of Islam " and France a second best " Supporter of Islam ". The Duce is to be congratulated on his assumption of the new role, though whether it will deceive anybody is another question.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) Indianisation of the Army.

3. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 21st March the speech of the Commander-in-Chief in the debate on Pandit Kunzru's resolution in the Council of State on the subject of progressive Indianisation of the army in India was undoubtedly both more tact-

ful and less provocative in language than the speech of Mr. P. J. Griffiths on a similar motion in the Legislative Assembly a fortnight ago. But in substance it was as disappointing and unsatisfactory as the other speech. Like that speech it was in effect a plea for the indefinite continuance, if not the perpetuation, of the existing conditions. His Excellency, the paper remarks, only indulged in a figure of speech when he said that he was "responsible to the Government of India and to every single Indian in the country." His responsibility to the Government of India is true only in the sense that the Government of India are themselves but an agent of the British Government and the British Parliament who are his real and only masters. As regards the latter part of the statement, so far from his being responsible to every single Indian, not all the three hundred and fifty millions of Indian combined would be able to touch a hair of his head even if he were to fail completely in the task of ensuring peace and tranquility in India. If His Excellency really believes that his responsibility should be to the Government and the people of India, rather than to the British Government, why does he not make common cause with the party of Self-Government in India in asking fo the transfer of defence to Indian and federal control? Secondly, it is wholly undeniable that the present position of India with regard to defence is solely the outcome of the policy of distrust which the British Government followed in this country for many years. Whose fault is it that the Government in India so far have had no experience of an army trained and led by Indian officers? What will become of His Excellency's "responsibility to the Government of India and every single Indian" if in the event of a future European war India has again to be denuded of British officers, as she was actually denuded for a time during the last European War? Let His Excellency remember that these are the hard facts from which India hereself starts in this matter. Her position is that as it is the British Government who are primarily responsible for the present situation in India, in which, according to them, India is incapable of defending herself, it is their imperative duty to remove this incapacity at the earliest possible moment. That is why India demands that Indianisation must not only proceed with the utmost speed, but must take precedence of all other items in the Government's policy.

(b) Military Medical Services and the New Constitution.

4. Commenting on the communique issued by the Government of India, setting forth the changes to be made in the organisation, distribution and terms of service of the military medical services under the new constitution the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 26th March, says that the net result can be put in a few words, and that is that the number of Indians in the Indian Medical Service will be substantially reduced in future, while that of British officers will remain the same. The main object is to "reconcile, as far as possible, the natural and legitimate desire of the provinces of the future to exercise complete autonomy in the field of medical and health administrations, with the necessity for providing the Army

with a satisfactory reserve for employment in time of war and of ensuring that officers and families of the superior Civil Service (and superior Police Service) have the standard and type of medical attendance to which they are entitled." On these pleas the number of British officers in the Indian Medical Service will be maintained at 386, but Indian officers will be decreased from 263 to 198. This is a state of affairs which no patriotic Indian can contemplate with equanimity. It is equally obvious that unless and until the recruitment of I.C.S. and I.P.S., by the Secretary of State is stopped and Indianisation of the Army proceeds repidly, no improvement can be effected.

(c) The Congress and Office acceptance.

5. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 24th March publishes a communication in which the writer says that the Congress, which is the largest single party in most of the provinces of Upper India and the Deccan has often boasted of its nationalism and "freedom from the communal virus". Let this august body, if they are true to their profession, give practical demonstration of its pledges, assurances and solicitations for the poor Muslims by nominating a large number of Muslims in the loaves and fishes of the Legislature on the principle of population combined with weightage, at least on the line and principle of Sir Sikandar Hayat, so as to create and foster hope and confidence in the minds of the minority communities about the bonafides of their professions, so as to enable them to dispense with the necessity of separate electorate under the next elections. If the Congress premiers fail in their duty, if they are actuated by a base communal spirit though under the cloak of nationalism such a step on their part will spell ruin and deadlock for the whole constitution, and engender such acute discontent, dismay and disgust in the mind of the minority communities, that they will continue to agitate and devoutly wish for the perpetuation of the principle of separate electorate, which is only an emergent measure, although the negation of the fundamental principle of democracy, and thus make the triumph of the policy and principle of the rulers complete.

6. The *Partap* (Lahore) of the 24th March says that the goal of the Congress is to attain independence but before the realisation of its objective it cannot overlook important questions like the removal of unemployment and illiteracy. Therefore if the Congress succeeds in carrying into effect its programme in the Legislature the one advantage of accepting office will be that it will not fail in setting at naught the special powers of Governors. If the Governors used their special powers the Congress would be able to create deadlocks and in this there will be not only its political, but also moral, victory. The Congress decision to accept Ministries is a great test for the Congress itself. If the Congress maintains discipline it will not be difficult for it to come triumphant out of the test. The paper hopes that during the next five years the Congress will prove that

it has real sympathy for the people of the country. This will not only clear the field for its victory in the next elections but will also enable it to prepare the masses for the struggle for Swaraj.

7. The *Milap* (Lahore) of the 25th March does not want to falsify the oft-repeated claim of Great Britain that it loves democracy. The demand of the Congress regarding an assurance that Governors will not use their special powers in the event of its acceptance of office and working within constitutional limits is in the paper's opinion quite in harmony with British traditions and assertions and there is nothing in it which can be held against its love of constitutionalism. This, the paper observes, is a sort of a challenge to the British Government to afford a practical proof of its ideals and professions. Should it fail in this it will terribly impair its prestige in the estimation of the Indian masses.

8. Commenting on the speech made by the Under Secretary of State for India before the Conservative Committee of the House of Commons the *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 26th March avers that Mr. Butler assumed reticence as regards the condition imposed by the Congress on office acceptance resolution that Governors will give assurance that they will not use their special powers. Such reticence in political matters amounts to complete acquiscence. It is highly probable in the circumstances that the Governors will promise not to interfere with the work of the Congress Ministries if the same is conducted within Constitutional limits. The Congress, however, is determined to pursue one uniform policy in all the provinces, and that is that if a Governor will refuse to extend the required assurance in one province the Congress will refuse to accept offices everywhere. Hence the Governors of all the provinces also shall have to adopt a uniform policy.

(d) The all India Convention.

9. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 21st March characterises the All-India Convention which opened at Delhi on Friday as a most impressive affair. The Faizpur Congress, the paper says, contemplated a Convention consisting of the Congress members of the various Legislatures and such other persons as the Working Committee might choose to invite. In actual practice no non-Congressman was invited to the Convention. This, in the paper's opinion, was a regrettable omission because the main purpose which the Convention had in view could only be realised by and through complete co-operation between the Congress and other progressive sections of opinion in India, which were in substantial agreement with its ideals and its objective. The reason given by Pandit Jawahar Lal for the omission is hardly convincing. " If invitations had been extended to those outside the Congress, " he said, " the gathering would have been entirely different in character." That is, of course, obvious, but the difference would have made not for weakness but for strength. The oath might still have been administered only to the Congress members or its form might have been slightly altered by the omission of the

reference to Congress discipline, Congress ideals and objective, so as to make it acceptable to non-Congress progressives. But a Convention so constituted would have given both the British Government and the world at large some idea of the unity of opinion, sentiment and purpose in India on the issue of India's constitutional freedom, and would thus have foreshadowed that "united front" to the enemies of India's national aspirations, which it is in the best interest of both the Congress and the country to bring into being with the least possible delay. Unless, therefore, the Congress will make a serious attempt to bring all progressive forces in India into alliance with itself, if not under its actual leadership, it will be partly its own fault if the battle for liberty is prolonged and the coming of the Constituent Assembly itself is delayed.

10. Commenting on that portion of his address to the All-India Convention, in which the Congress President expressed the view that "this election and our campaign, though they resulted in the loss of Muslim seats as a whole, have been a triumph for us even in regard to Muslims," the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 21st March, remarks that a worse example of self-deception it would be very hard to find. Alluding to that passage in which he said, "We failed because we had long neglected working among the Muslim masses and we could not reach them in time; but where we reached, especially in the rural areas, we found almost the same response, the same anti-imperialist spirit, as in others," the paper observes, if the big guns of Congress found the same response from the Muslim masses where they reached them and the communal problem seemed to be utterly non-existent when they talked to Muslim peasants, how is it that Muslim peasants did not vote for Congressite Muslims? Why were all Muslim Congress candidates defeated in the United Provinces? Where was the response in rural Muslim areas to the call of Congress? In face of such crushing results, it is absurd to talk of "the same response." But the question is whether the Pandit's belief that Muslims want to join Congress is founded on fact. As for the masses, the U. P. and N.-W. F. P. results should serve as an eye-opener to all Congressmen except those who live in the clouds. As regards the intelligentsia the only confirmation of his supposition is the recent appeal of Sir Wazir Hassan who after loyally serving the Government as a Judge and Chief Judge of the Oudh Chief Court, winning a knighthood and earning a large pension, advises his community to line up with Congress. As against his advice, the way in which the Muslim legislators of Bengal, of Sind, of the Central Provinces and of the North-West Frontier Province have recently decided to sink their differences and close their ranks against Congressmen and other Hindu communalists indicates that Pandit Jawaharlal's higher hopes concerning the political classes among Muslims are equally destined to disappointment.

11. In the opinion of the *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 25th March the address is such a master piece of self-deception that even the Pandit

himself cannot furnish its example. Indeed that portion of the address in which he has expressed his views about the Muslims is ridiculus. No sensible person can feel proud of the reasoning employed by him to wipe the stigma of defeat sustained by the Congress iu capturing Muslim seats of the Legislatures. His reasoning is wholly incorrect and unacceptable. As regards the success of the Congress in Hindu circles, the paper observes, the reason is that the Pandit made the scheme of the domination of the Hindus a part of the Congress programme. Let the Pandit ask the Hindus to arrive at a communal understanding with the Muslims and then see how many of them side with him and the Congress.

(e) Mr. Jinnah's address to the Executive Council of the All-India Muslim League.

12. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 24th March does not accept the view expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, at the recent meeting of the Executive Council of the All India Muslim League, held at Delhi, regarding the impossibility of Muslims and Hindus merging their identities because of their fundamentally different social heritages and cultures. Whatever difference, says the paper, does exist between the cultures of the two communities is as irrelevant to the real issue that Mr. Jinnah has to face as the undoubted difference between their respective social heritages. That issue is not whether either community can merge its existence in the other, but whether while retaining their distinct social and religious existence intact they cannot still form one single community politically. Mr. Jinnah admitted that the two communities can join hands and march together to the goal of freedom. What prevents him from admitting further that even when freedom has been won, they can remain an indivisible whole politically. Is Mr. Jinnah unaware that in many modern countries to-day the population consists of communities and classes whose social heritages are as different as those of the Hindus and Muslims in India, and that in spite of this difference they have little difficulty in forming one nation and functioning through identical political institutions and organisations ? Is not this, indeed, the accepted basis of a nation in the modern sense ? Mr. Jinnah advised his community not to play the role of camp-followers but to be ever in the vanguard. But who asks him to be a camp-follower ? Was he a camp-follower in those days when he was a distinguished member of the Congress ? Was Maulana Mahomed Ali or Maulana Shaukat Ali a camp-follower ? Were Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari camp-followers ? Are men like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad camp-followers ? Does Mr. Jinhah, then, want every Muslim to be a leader ? Is every Muslim a leader in the League itself ?

13. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 24th March observes that Mr. Jinnah rightly laid stress on the fact that the primary issue before them would be the mass organization of Muslims. The necessity of establishing mass contacts was also stressed by other speakers. Judging, however, from the results of the last provincial

elections, while the Congress has succeeded in organizing the Hindu masses, the Muslim League has signally failed in doing anything practical. It is time that preaching were followed by practice. Nor is this all. As pointed out by some speakers, with a view to preserving the solidarity of the League, Muslim members of various legislatures should be allowed some liberty of action suited to the particular exigencies of local politics. The need for decentralisation of League politics was repeatedly emphasised by the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. Unless this is done and Muslim legislators are allowed to choose the policies that are best adapted to the circumstances of the different provinces, the League so far from being able to establish contact with the Muslim masses, will be deprived of contact even with the Muslim intelligentsia.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) Kidnapping of Hindus in the North-West Frontier Province.

14. Referring to the report regarding the kidnapping of four Hindus from a street in Bannu the *Shakti* (Lahore) of the 22nd March says that this is sufficient to show how unprotected the Hindus of the Frontier Province are and how their lives and property are always in danger. It behoves the authorities to take steps to have the kidnapped Hindus restored to their families.

15. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 27th March remarks that while on the one hand the officials of Government make cases of kidnapping a cause for the justification of the forward policy of Government, on the other they prejudice the minds of the Hindus against the independent tribes. It is a pity that neither the Hindus nor Government try to reach at the bottom of the affair. Only uptill the other day the Waziri tribes were living with peace with Government and their Hindu neighbours. Had the Government not entered the Khaisora valley, the tribes would have remained peaceful as before. But Government itself incited them and now that they are agitating Government is defaming them.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

The 27th March, 1937.

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 3rd April, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Non-intervention in Spain.

1. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 30th March, expresses the opinion that in handling the Spanish situation Britain and France have committed a series of blunders. They should on no account have allowed the rebels to be placed on an equal footing with the lawfully constituted authority. They, indeed, walked into the Fascist parlour, when they deprived the Spanish Government of its legal right to import arms and munitions from abroad. The Non-Intervention Committee, created at their instance, did nothing for a long time to stop the inflow of German and Italian " volunteers " into Spain. It decided to establish a cordon round the country only after more than 100,000 foreign Fascist crusaders had collected under General Franco's flag. The Spanish Government could not get any substantial aid from its sympathisers in Britain and France because the extremely scrupulous Governments discouraged the Socialist agitation for resistance to the Fascist interference in the South-Western European peninsula. Now, says the paper, the position is this. The Spanish Government has been practically isolated—the British and French sources of help have dried up completely. But General Franco continues to get assistance from his Fascist allies. No wonder that the Spanish Independent Left Party organ " La Voz " cries in anger " Democratic Europe is about to convert us into a second edition of Ethiopia " and suggests that this can be avoided only " by our breaking the chains wherein Lord Plymouth (President of the Non-Intervention Committee) is binding us and obtaining our men and munitions wherever we can get them even though M. Delbos has hermetically sealed our frontier." In its issue, dated the 2nd April the paper enquires what has become of the resolve made by the Non-Intervention Committee to supervise the Spanish coast ? While, the paper observes, they are twirling their thumbs the Insurgents have enforced their own plan of supervision and are harassing ships engaged in perfectly lawful activities. Innumerable acts of piracy have been committed by them and both big and small Powers have been victimized, but they have been allowed to go scot-free on account of their intimacy with the Fascist Confederacy of which the Democratic States are mortally afraid. The latest outrage committed by the Spanish rebels is the firing on the British steamer " Magdalena," which was carrying nothing contraband. Will the British Government take it lying down ? Not long ago it declared that British shipping would be fully protected. Nothing has been done to implement the declaration though British shipping has been attacked by the Spanish outlaws more than once.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) Congress refusal to accept Office : Hindu view.

2. Alluding to the breakdown of negotiations for the formation of Congress ministries in the six provinces in which the Congress has obtained majority as a result of the refusal of the Governors to

give an assurance that they will not use their special powers, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 30th March, observes that in every Province the breakdown of the negotiations has been promptly followed by the issue of a *communique* not only setting forth the relevant facts of the case but definitely throwing upon the Congress party the entire responsibility for the breakdown. But this attempt to put the Congress in the wrong will simply not do. It is plain as a pikestaff to any dispassionate mind that the initial responsibility for the breakdown of the negotiations rests with the Governors themselves. The Congress leaders would and could alone have been responsible for the situation that has arisen, if they had insisted upon the Governors giving a more detailed or more specific assurance than what the A. I. C. C.'s admittedly general and vague resolution demanded. And what is going to be the effect of it all? The precious Constitution on which the British Government and the British political parties have spent so many laborious months and years and practically exhausted all the resources of their ingenuity has either already broken down or is in the process of breaking down in six out of the eleven Provinces of India. Of course, it was bound to break down in any case, for it is impossible in a politically self-conscious country to make any constitution work long or indefinitely which is rejected by the overwhelming majority of political-minded people. But the breakdown need not have been immediate. The Congress formula certainly, though rather strangely, gave an opportunity to the agents of the British Government in India of deferring what they undoubtedly regard as the evil day. By their action in this case the Governors have deliberately thrown away that opportunity. It will not only be open to, but easy for, the Congress, if it so desires, to prevent the appointed ministers from functioning constitutionally and to compel the Governors before long to take over the reins of administration in their own hands and thus to proclaim from the housetops that the constitution about the success of which so many confident predictions were made in England as well as India has already broken down over the greater part of the country. And who can doubt that the happenings in these provinces will produce their inevitable repercussions in the other provinces as well, so that before long the Congress will have fully achieved its object and confronted the British Government with the alternatives of conceding to India her birth-right of full and unfettered responsible government or reverting to naked despotic rule. The Governors have by their action undoubtedly made things easier for the Congress in this respect than the Congress leaders themselves made them by their decision to accept office.

3. Writing in the *Milap* (Lahore) of the 31st March Ranbir expresses the opinion that the Congress resolution had put the Government and the new constitution to severe test in which both of them have badly failed. As regards the question whether the demand of the Congress was costitutional or otherwise the reply is that when the Governors are empowered to use their special powers why should they not have the right not to use them. The Congressmen were not demanding an assurance in connection with their

unconstitutional activities. Their demand was clear that their constitutional activities will not be interfered with, but the Governors refused to give the assurance. This being so Government and not the Congress is to blame for the non-formation of ministries.

4. Writing in the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 31st March Krishan remarks that the Congress wanted to show to the world that the claim of Government that it had granted full autonomy to the provinces was a fraud and it has proved that this is so. By refusing to give the assurance the Governors have involved themselves in trouble because no lasting ministry will be formed in provinces in which the Congress has been returned to the Legislature in majority. This is the first clash between the Congress and the Government and in this the latter has had a complete reverse.

5. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 31st March, says that if, through the instrumentality of certain Governors, Government has created a situation in which the working of the new Constitution becomes impossible the Congress will not stand to lose because its primary object is to wrec the Constitution. The Congress, however, did not like to take upon itself the blame that it was not prepared to effect a reasonable and honourable compromise. By spurning with scorn the offer of an honourable compromise the Government has failed to discharge its duty in the matter and has made itself responsible for the consequences which will ensue.

(b) Congress refusal to accept Office : Muslim view.

6. According to the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 30th March, no Governor could give an assurance that he would over-ride the mandatory provisions of the Act and bind himself not to use his special powers or safeguard the interests of the minorities, which he is bound under the Act to do. And yet the leaders of Congress parties appear to have insisted on this unconscionable demand, despite a previous Reuter telegram to the effect that such an assurance would never be given. The blame for the failure thus lies on Congress alone. Muslims, the paper observes, are not enamoured of the Act. They are at one with Congress that it is altogether unsatisfactory and desire as ardently as Congressmen its replacement by a far better constitution. The part of the Act relating to Provincial Autonomy, however, is a great improvement on the present condition of things and like other sane and sober elements in India Muslims have decided to work it for all it is worth. Nor is this all. Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya's recent statement on Congress ministry in the United Provinces made it perfectly clear that if Congress had undertaken the formation of ministries, it would have taken particular care to deprive the Muslims and other minorities of their due share. And who will blame the Governors if they have declined to become parties to the Congress campaign against minorities ?

7. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 31st March, wonders what objection could the Governors have to the giving of the assurance to the Congress representatives in the Legislatures when they expressed

their readiness to render sympathetic help to them in their constitutional work. At any rate, the paper observes, this flat refusal on the part of the Governors will result in lowering the respect of the rulers and enhancing the prestige of the Congress in the estimation of the masses. It has also clearly shown that the new Constitution like the previous one is a mere shadow and that the provincial autonomy means nothing but that the Governors will be all in all and the ministers should only dance to their tune. In spurning the demand of the Congress the Governors have committed a serious mistake the consequences of which Britain will have to face in the form of a terrible agitation which is bound to spring up against her. The new Constitution which was called the Charter of India's democracy has died before its inauguration.

8. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 2nd April, ays that the object of the wise Congress statesmen in attaching the conditional clause to office acceptance resolution was to put statesmanship of British officers to a test which required extraordinary sagacity and sincerity to come successful out of it. Indeed, it was a standard to test the 'reality' of provincial autonomy and it is a matter for gratification that its hollowness has been proved at the very first examination. At any rate the Congress has proved true to its determination and intention and British statesmanship having been defeated by India's passion for freedom has decided to take shelter in the weak and flimsy fort of minorities and has asked communalist Hindus and Muslims to form Ministries The paper does not want to say anything to the Hindus but tells the Muslims in clear words that their readiness to form ministries will not only be a blunder, but an insult to the sense of honour and self-respect of their community.

(c) Congress refusal to accept Office : Sikh view.

9. The *Khalsa Review* (Lahore) of the 29th March remarks that whatever reasons the Government may have for coming to such a decision it has taken upon its shoulders the responsibility of wrecking the Constitution. In the Provinces in which the Congress is in majority, no Ministry will be able to remain even for a day without the sufferance of the Congress. The paper feels that no harm could have occurred if the Governors had given an assurance of not interfering with the 'constitutional activities' of the Congress. The arbitrary manner in which the Governors have totally rejected the Congress demand has put them in the wrong and to that extent strengthened the hands of the Congress to go to the electorate for a fresh verdict in their favour. It feels constrained to say that the Government of India, if it is responsible for the decision of the Governors, which the paper presumes it is, has erred and erred criminally. It means that all the time, money and energy utilized in framing the Constitution and the recent elections have gone to waste, and India to-day stands as far away from the goal of self-Government as she ever has been. The Indian Government will have to thank itself for any inconvenient situation that may now arise for its apparent lack of wisdom, foresight and prudence. It appears

that die-hardism is still predominent in the upper counsels of India which never wishes to part with real power and authority. As it is, the decision of the Governors cannot but be too severely censured.

(d) Mr. Gandhi's statement.

10. Alluding to Mr. Gandhi's statement to the Press on the constitutional crisis that has arisen on account of the refusal of the Governors to give the assurance asked for by the Congress leaders, the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 1st April, says that every word of the Mahatma breathes sincerity. Mahatma only wanted a gentlemanly understanding between the Governors and their Congress Ministers that they would not exercise their special powers of interference so long as the Ministers acted within the Constitution. The assurance sought of the Governors might have been superfluous and the Congress Ministers would have done better if " fresh from resounding victories at the polls and conscious of their strength ", they had gone to their work and " waited until the other side had opened fire ". That argument is very good for a politician like the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Shastri. But Gandhiji is a Satyagrahi not a strategist. He would not take the Governors unaware. He would place all his cards on the table and would like his opponents to do the same. Mahatma can afford to be courteous to the point of danger, but his opponents cannot and that alone accounts for all the trouble.

11. In the opinion of the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 1st April, Mahatma Gandhi is certainly right in saying that there was nothing unconstitutional or even extra-constitutional in the Governors saying that they would not exercise their discretion against ministers carrying on constitutional activities. The paper enquires, were ministers wanted at all if they were not to carry on constitutional activities without interference from the Governors ? In refusing to give them the simple assurance they wanted the Governors have done one of two things. Either they have demonstrated the utter falsity of the claim that the Constitution has given autonomy to the provinces, for that cannot be called " provincial autonomy " under which the wishes of a majority obtained through the machinery provided by the Constitution itself can be successfully flouted. Or they have themselves deliberately ended the autonomy which they claim that the Constitution gave to the provinces, and have created a situation in which, as the Mahatma says with irrefutable logic, the rule will be the rule of the sword, not of the pen nor of an indisputable majority.

(e) Broadcast talk by the Right Hon'ble the Marquis of Lothian on the Crisis in India.

12. Referring to that part of Lord Lothian's statement in which he describes responsible government as the true solvent of political troubles, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 1st April, remarks that taking as his text the statement made to him by Mahatma Gandhi that " the real need of India is to be free to assume responsibility for its own government ", His Lordship says : " This under the Constitution the majorities in the Legislatures in provinces can now

do." This is exactly where all well-informed persons in India must join issue with Lord Lothian. The very refusal by the Governors to give the Congress the assurance demanded by it is proof positive of the fact that the majorities in the Legislatures in provinces are *not* free to assume responsibility for their own government. Lord Lothian has interpreted the plain words of the Mahatma in an extremely narrow and illiberal sense. When the Mahatma said " responsibility " he obviously meant and could only have meant responsibility with power, and not responsibility without power. It is this responsibility with power which the Congress leaders wanted and which the Governors have refused them. It is perfectly true, as Lord Lothian says, that the system of responsible government is the most successful system yet discovered and wherever it has been put into force it has led inevitably and by fairly rapid stages to full national self-government. But can Lord Lothian point out a single case in history in which responsible government has either proved a success or led, whether inevitably and by fairly rapid stages or otherwise, to full national self-government under such withering conditions as those by which it is hedged in in this case ? In which country, the paper asks, known to Lord Lothian was the substantive of self-government so completely overshadowed and, in fact, nullified by the adjective of safeguards, as in India's case ? The strangest part of the statement is Lord Lothian's assertion that " the greatest merit of the new Constitution is that it enables Hindus and Muslims in eleven provinces to live together as members of a single Federation, and because it is based on a system of responsible government which has worked so well in other parts of the British Commonwealth, it makes it possible for India to attain the ideal of the Congress—full national self-government—by constitutional and not by revolutionary means. " Both parts of the statement are equally and demonstrably incorrect. Whatever constitution might have been framed for India, Hindus and Muslims would have had no choice except to live together as members of the same State, whether that State was federal or unitary. But if by living together is meant living together peaceably and as friends and brothers, the present Constitution, so far from enabling them to live together in that sense, has literally made it impossible for them to do so by placing them in two definitely antagonistic camps. As regards the second part of the statement it is nothing short of a cruel irony that after having helped the Tories, reactionaries and diehards to impose on India a constitution which is a complete negation of responsible government, as known to other parts of the British Commonwealth, Lord Lothian should ask India to work that Constitution as those parts have worked their fundamentally different constitutions, in the hope that she will some day reach the same goal that they have reached. As well might Lord Lothian ask India to sow thistles and hope to reap a harvest of wheat.

13. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 2nd April, His Lordship's deductions and observations have an importance of their own. He is on firm ground in warning India

against a policy of revolution. Lord Lothian recognizes the sincerity of Mahatma Gandhi. The real need of India is to assume responsibility for its own Government. The correct Constitutional course for Congress to adopt when it has a majority is to assume office, formulate its programme of reform and advise Governors. Then it would be for Governors to decide whether they would accept responsibility for the consequences of Congress policy. It would be most difficult for Governors not to follow the advice of their Cabinets, for to reject it might be a greater menace to peace and tranquillity than to accept it. Congress leaders, says the paper, wanted a "gentlemanly understanding" with the Governors; but they have been misunderstood. The word "assurance" has been taken by Provincial Satraps to mean dictation by Congress, or their signing a warrant of abdication. It meant nothing of the kind, and, therefore, the crisis that has been precipitated is absolutely uncalled for. The paper wishes something could still be done to avert further mischief and end the deadlock, because the only alternative to acceptance of office is reversion to Civil Disobedience, and that course, as Lord Lothian remarks, leads to repression and revolution. Congress leaders are aware of this fact; they are anxious to avoid it, and that only explains why Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has been careful enough to advice Congressmen to avoid disobedience of orders. If trouble comes it will come not through the intransigence of Congressmen, but through the short-sighted policy of British statesmen. Mahatma Gandhi is out for peace, both communal and political. The paper wants Britain to reciprocate. It is no use for Lord Lothian to warn India of communal estrangements if Britain refuses to come to any understanding with Congress, in the hope that the Constitution can be made a success even in Congress Provinces with the help of *interim* Ministries of Muslims and other minorities.

(f) The Panipat firing incident : Hindu view.

14. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 31st March, publishes a communication in which the writer says that a dispute arose between the Hindus and the Muslims of Panipat on the Holi day—the 26th of March—and in order to prevent it from taking a serious turn the Police had to open fire. It is stated that the procession taken out by the Hindus on that day had to pass through the Qalandar Chauk, which the Muslims claimed to be a part of the shrine of Bu Ali Shah Qalandar and a waqf property and did not wish that the procession should pass through it. The authorities had, however, permitted the procession to pass through the Chauk. As a protest against this attitude of the authorities the Muslims tying their hands on their backs prostrated on the ground so that the procession may not pass at all. The Police asked them to clear the way but they resented this step on the part of the Police and a short while afterwards bricks began to be showered in the Chauk and the Muslims adopted an aggressive attitude. In the absence of a Magistrate on the spot the Deputy Superintendent of Police ordered the Police to open fire. After this the dispute spread over all the city and isolated attacks began to be made on

individual passers by as a result of which, many persons were wounded. In its issue dated the 1st April the paper holds the obstinacy and hardihood of the Muslims the sole cause of the riot accuses them of having made an assault on the Police and having looted Hindu shops. The paper asks Government to take the necessary steps for the protection of life and property of the Hindus.

(g) The Panipat firing incident : Muslim view.

15. According to the *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 1st April, the Muslims had no objection against the Holi procession. What they wanted was that the procession should not pass through the Qalandar Chauk, which is a part of the shrine of Bu Ali Qalandar and held sacred by them. But, the paper observes, it is extremely regrettable that those who were at the helm of affairs adopted an attitude of indifference towards this legitimate demand of the Muslims. When the Muslims made a peaceful protest against the passage of the procession through the said Chauk there was no justification to open fire on them. The Hindu Deputy Superintendent of Police who ordered such a step to be taken, therefore, discharged his duty in a most disagreeable and unbecoming manner. Indeed, he created a critical situation through his misplaced obstinacy. It is, however, gratifying that the Punjab Government has realized the importance of the tragic incident and has sent its Home Secretary to Panipat to inquire into the incident. It is hoped that he will have a just enquiry held resulting in the award of condign punishment to those responsible for the tragic incident. It would have been better if an independent enquiry had been ordered to be made so that no one might have any objection or cause of complaint.

16. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of even date writes in the same strain.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Nil.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

Memorial submitted to Government by the Hindus and Sikhs of Bannu.

17. Referring to the memorial submitted by the Hindus and Sikhs of the Bannu District to His Excellency the Governor of the Frontier Province, suggesting that condign punishment should be awarded to those who give shelter to the dacoits and that Hindus and Sikhs should be enlisted in the Police force in larger numbers, the *Milap* (Lahore) of the 3rd April opines that the adoption of the above suggestion will positively discourage the offenders to enter the British territory and remove at the same time the grievance of the Hindus and Sikhs that they are not being adequately protected.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,

The 3rd April, 1937. *Punjab Civil Secretariat.*

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 10th April, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Closure of Muhammad Ali's firm in Ethiopia.

1. Referring to an order from the Italian Government for the closure of the firm of Muhammad Ali in Ethiopia and to cablegrams received in India that the Italian authorities have decided to confiscate the property of the firm on the alleged grounds that the employees of the firm serve as spies of the British Government and were acting as British consuls in the interior of the country, the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 3rd April, remarks that the strictest investigation by independent authorities has proved that these allegations are ridiculous. The pusillanimous attitude of the British Govrnment throughout regarding Italy's doings in Abyssinia is solely responsible for this outrage. Mussolini's agents seem to think that, no matter what excesses they commit against British subjects, they will call for nothing but verbal protests from Britain. How long is this state of affairs to continue? Surely the Government of India must "take cognizance" of this gratuitous insult to India. The scurvy treatment meted out to Indians in Zanzibar pales into insignificance beside this wholesale deprivation of hundreds of Indian nationals of their means of livelihood, and their expulsion from their homes.

2. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 4th April, the plea that employees of the firm serve as spies of the British Government is as false as it is malicious. The real reason seems to be that the firm enjoys the confidence of the people of Abyssinia and is patronised both by natives and foreigners resident in the country. Italian businessmen being unable to compete with an Indian firm of old standing, this lying charge has been invented to deal a mortal blow to its business. Either the liberty to trade should be restored to Indian firms in Ethiopia or the Government of India should retaliate by ordering all Italian firms doing business in this country to close down and leave the land. Unfortunately, says the paper, the Government of India have to take their orders from the British Government which, for reasons of their own have betrayed the greatest weakness in face of the Addis Ababa massacre, quite oblivious of the part played by Britishers in regard to the so-called Armenian massacres during the regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid. But if the Government of India have to play second fiddle to His Majesty's Government, there is no reason why Indians should not take matters into their own hands and launch a general boycott of Italian goods.

3. According to the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 6th April, the British Government have made diplomatic representations to Rome. Will this make any impression on Mussolini? The paper is afraid the Duce will simply take no notice of it till such time as the expulsion of Indians from Ethiopia is an accomplished fact How did he treat British representation for non-intervention in Spain? No reply was sent to Britain so long as the Black Shirt legions had not

completely occupied the country. Supineness will never do in dealing with the Duce. What the occasion demands is retaliatory action as was suggested by several members in the Assembly.

4. The *Akali Patrika* (Lahore) of the 8th April, calls upon the Government of India to retaliate by ordering all Italian shops in India to close down. The paper fears that unless such a policy is adopted, Indian business in Abyssinia will be ruined.

5. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 8th April, is of opinion that every step of Mussolini takes from the British prestige and yet England cannot dare cast a glance at Italy. The paper suggests a ban on the import of Italian goods in England and India as a counter-measure.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) The constitutional deadlock.

6. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 6th April, welcomes the suggestion made by the *Statesman* that the Viceroy should invite Mahatma Gandhi, and says that it is not difficult to believe that a heart-to-heart talk between the two great persons may result in solving the present tangle. The Congress did not ask for the moon, as Gandhiji has made it perfectly clear. The Mahatma has always put his weight on the side of peace. He gives battle only when it is forced on him. If the Viceroy cares to follow the *Statesman's* suggestion he will not find Mahatma Gandhi unreasonable.

7. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 7th April, is of opinion that it was not in haste that the Congress leaders refused to accept Ministerships but they declined to form Ministries after considering the matter fully from its legal and moral points of view. Even if to-day His Excellency the Viceroy gives an assurance to the Congress leaders that their programmes aiming at the amelioration of social and political conditions o the masses will not be interfered with, the present *impasse* will be overcome and the Congress acceptance of office will open a new chapter in the peace and prosperity of the country.

8. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 8th April has not the slightest hesitation in saying that any negotiations entered into on behalf of the Government of India with the leaders of Congress will not have the approval of that vast body of sober-minded men in this country who have shouldered the responsibility of working the Reforms even at the risk of great unpopularity, unless their representations are also taken into confidence and their opinions are given due weight. It would be a gross betrayal if they were entirely excluded from any conversations meant to put an end to the present constitutional crisis.

(b) His Excellency the Governor's address to the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

9. Referring to that part of Sir Herbert Emerson's address to the new Punjab Legislative Assembly in which he declared it to be his resolve to play, in the fullest measure, consistently with the

special responsibilities laid on him by the Government of India Act and the Instrument of Instructions, the role of a constitutional Governor, The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 9th April remarks that this is the only correct position of the Governor under the Government of India Act and the Instrument of Instructions, which no one who is familiar with the Act and the Instrument will for one moment deny. Nor, subject to the indispensable reservation about the utter incompatibility of the Governor's special responsibilities with the responsibility of his ministers, will any one deny that the policy enunciated by His Excellency is unexceptionable and indeed, wholesome. But what does seem to the paper to matter is not the promise but its actual fulfilment. In saying this the paper does not for one moment question the sincerity of the promise. It has no doubt that Sir Herbert Emerson is genuinely anxious to foster responsible government. The difficulty, says the paper, is inherent in the situation. A Governor who has to carry out the wishes and instructions of authorities that are not in any sense or to any extent responsible to the people of his province, but on the contrary are responsible to another people whose immediate interests may be and in some cases are in conflict with those of the people of the province is surely not in the best position to foster and develop the responsibility of his ministers either to the Legislature or the Constituencies of the Province.

10. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 9th April the address was remarkable. The Governor spoke with sincerity and feeling. His Excellency seemed inspired; his words came right from his heart. He made a strong plea for confidence and responsibility. He made it clear that no Governor could give indefinite guarantees for the future; at some time or other circumstances might arise which might compel the Governor to assume responsibilities which the Government of the day was unable or unwilling to bear, or which might require the Governor to give to particular interests or classes the protection to which they were entitled under the law, and which might be denied to them. But it would be Sir Herbert's constant endeavour, he assured the Assembly, to prevent such circumstances arising.

11. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 9th April, congratulates His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab on delivering an inaugural address to the first Provincial Legislative Assembly which, in the paper's opinion, is full of sound commonsense and couched in language which can be easily understood by the people at large. His Excellancy, says the paper, rightly points out that a healthy opposition should not be merely destructive in its attitude and that its irresponsibility should be tempered by the knowledge that what is one day the opposition may at some future time be called upon to provide the ministry. The paper hopes that the opposition will keep this in mind in future and not indulge in criticism of the present Ministry merely for the sake of criticism.

12. Commenting on that part of the address in which His Excellency remarked ' None can give indefinite guarantee for the future. At some time or other, circumstances may arise which

may compel the Governor to resume responsibilities which the Government of the day are unable or unwilling to bear', the *Milap* (Lahore) of the 9th April, remarks that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and his colleagues should know that the ground on which they stand is slippery and dangerous. All their position and power can be set at naught, only if one man, namely the Governor, wills so. Had the Punjab leaders the same sense of self-respect which has been shown by the leaders of the majority parties in Bombay, Madras, Bihar, Orissa, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces, they would certainly not have tolerated these words of the Governor. But this is the Punjab. Here everything is done in a peculiar manner. The paper complains that the Governor has not assured the minorities that their rights will be safe-guarded. He has not assured the opposition that he will pay a sympathetic consideration to its fair and legitimate demands to which the party in power refuses to pay heed.

13. According to the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 10th April not only the address is insipid but the matters upon which it dwells are out of season. His Excellency, the paper observes, has very frequently used the terms 'responsibility' and 'confidence', but he has not uttered a single word to mourn the manner in which 'responsibility' was dragged through the mire in connection with the election of the Speaker.

(c) Punjab Legislative Assembly : Speaker's election..

14. Alluding to the election of Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din as Speaker of the House, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 8th April, opines that his vast knowledge of constitutional law, long experience as President of the Punjab Legislative Council and the impartiality with which he had conducted its proceedings marked him out as the fittest man for the responsible position. Dr. Kitchlew was singularly ill-advised in entering into a contest with the one man who according to constitutional proprieties ought to have been elected unanimously. The paper has every hope that the President of the Punjab Assembly will leave no stone unturned to maintain the best parliamentary traditions of judicial impartiality, courtesy for all and despatch of business of the House.

15. The *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 8th April, thinks that the election of Sir Shahab-ud-Din demonstrates the solidarity of the Unionist Party. The paper is not Unionist, and does not subscribe to much of their creed and policy, but fairness demands that it should recognize their cohesion, much credit for which goes to the leaders of the Party. The Unionists are very well organized but the Opposition have men of whom they can be equally proud. The Congress group equals the Unionists in cohesion and discipline. The defeat of Dr. Kitchlew was foreseen ; it is a pity that an unfortunate numbering of the ballot papers spoilt the election. It might have been mere coincidence that the numbers on the ballot papers tallied with the numbers on the seats, but Congressmen were perfectly justified to complain that the secrecy of the ballot box had been violated, or that the voting was not fair. The Congress

protest is perfectly justified but the paper does not know whether it is of much practical avail.

16. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 8th April congratulates Chaudhri Sir Shahab-ud-Din and the Unionist party on the former's splendid success against his rival Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew by an overwhelming majority of votes and regrets that Dr. Kitchlew paid no heed to its advice that he should not impair his prestige by contesting the election. Can the Dr., the paper enquires, consider himself more experienced and more fitted for the chair than Sir Shahab-ud-Din ? If he had fought the election why did he stage the walk out after seeing a majority of the members voting for Sir Shahab-ud-Din ?

17. The *Akali Patrika* (Lahore) of the 8th April contends that no secrecy of the ballot was maintained in the election of the Speaker and it was on account of this irregularity that the Congressite, Akali, Ahrar and Muslim league members of the Assembly walked out of the Assembly Chamber. While this walk out exposes the reality of the Punjab Government which boasts of its adherence to democratic principles, it pains the paper that Raja Narindara Nath, Acting Speaker, did not exercise his powers like a free man but yielded to the Cabinet. The paper feels confident that Dr. S. D. Kitchlew would have succeeded, if the ballot had been secret.

18. Writing in the *Milap* (Lahore) of the 8th April Ranbir asserts that a majority of the members of the Assembly belonging to different groups including a sufficient number of the Unionists wanted to vote for Dr. S. D. Kitchlew. When the Unionist party came to know of this they called a meeting of the party and entreated its members not to vote for Dr. Kitchlew. Not only this. Some of the prominent members of the party including its whip, carried on convassing in favour of Sir Shahab-ud-Din in the Assembly Chamber under the very nose of the Acting Speaker, Raja Narendra Nath. Sir Shahab-ud-Din and the Unionist Party may be feeling glad over the success of the former, but in fairness they have no cause to do so as whatever was done on the day of election was unconstitutional.

19. In the opinion of the *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 8th April the election of Sir Shahab-ud-Din has made one thing clear that the opposition party is very weak and that Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan can run the administration without the least fear.

(d) The Congress and the Muslims.

20. Referring to the statement made by Sayyid Muhammad Husain, Bar.-at-Law, of Allahabad, and a Member of the Council of State advising the Muslims to remain aloof from the Congress, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 6th April remarks that as repeatedly pointed out by Mr. Jinnah, Maulana Shaukat Ali and others the Muslims are not a whit behind other communities in their desire

for the freedom of their motherland. They are prepared to co-operate with Hindus on equal terms only and not as camp-followers of the Congress. Sayyid Muhammad Husain is perfectly right in making the demand that the Congress leaders must come to a settlement with the Muslims on all controversial questions first and seek the co-operation of the Muslims afterwards. He is justified in warning the Muslims not to fall into the new Congress trap but insist on having a strong organization of their own which will be in a position to bargain with the Congressite Banias.

21. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 7th April concurs in the views expressed by Sayyid Muhammad Hussain Shah. It advises the Muslims to save themselves from the mischief started by the Congress to win them over to its side and says that Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru wants that the Muslims should forget their individual existence and the Hindus may have all-embracing domination everywhere. This is not freedom but a mere change of masters. In other words, it is an attempt to place the Muslims and other minorities under two masters, *viz.*, the English and high caste Hindus. The Muslims are wholeheartedly prepared to participate in every struggle for freedom provided their rights are recognized and their demands are conceded. This is the only way in which the Congress can succeed among the Muslims.

22 In the opini n of the *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 7th April the reason why the Muslims as a whole have been and are keeping aloof from the Congress is that the Hindu majority of India has never tried to study the problem of minorities in its right perspective. It has all along been the endeavour of Hindu patriots to befool the Muslims in the name of the country's freedom and democracy. Mahatma Gandhi and the late Pandit Moti Lal Nehru committed serious mistakes of this kind and now-a-days Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru not infrequently submits to the communal inclinations of Hindus. The Muslims are prepared to join hands with the Congress as partners entitled to their legitimate share and not as camp-followers.

23. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 7th April remarks that with the exception of a few of its members, who dance to the tune of the British, the entire Muslim community wants to cut asunder the chains of India's slavery and is ready to make every possible sacrifice to achieve this end. It cannot, however, lose its individual national existence by merging into that of the Hindus. The Muslims have made repeated efforts to arrive at an honourable understanding with the Hindus but, thanks to the ghost of communalism which has overpowered the latter, all these attempts have proved futile. So long as the Congress, which is a Hindu body to all intents and purposes, does not effect such a compromise with the Muslims it is impossible for it to win them over to its side.

(e) Panipat firing incident.

24. Referring to the Panipat firing as a result of which seven men were shot dead, the *Light* (Lahore) of the 1st April says that it has become a regular tradition with the so-called forces of law and order to start firing at Indian crowds with as little compunction as if they are just out duck shooting. The crowd was in a state of frenzy and the police had no option but to open fire. This is the stock excuse which has been repeated *ad. nauseum* and will be repeated now. The mere fact that the crowd was unarmed knocks the whole bottom out of this silly justification. The officer responsible for the blood shed must be made to stand his trial before a court of justice on a charge of murder. Failing that an impartial enquiry commanding public confidence must be instituted and this playing with human blood duly punished.

25. *Al-Fazl* (Qadian) of the 6th April expresses profound grief at the tragic occurrence at Panipat and throws its sole responsibility on the authorities who, knowing the existence of communal bitterness between two communities, failed to change the route of the procession and without any warning ordered fire to be opened on unarmed and non-violent Muslims. The paper asks Government to conduct an impartial inquiry into the incident and to suspend the officers concerned till its completion.

(f) Sikh-Muslim clash at Kot Bhai Thaa Singh (District Attock)—Sikh view.

26. Commenting on the *communique* issued by the Punjab Government on the subject in which the incident has been described as a most regrettable Muslim-Sikh riot, the *Khalsa Review* (Lahore) of the 5th April says that riot occurs generally between two parties determined to do mischief to either side. But in this case the Sikhs were saying their evening prayers and the Muslim hooligans forcibly entered the Gurdwara, damaged the furniture and seriously injured 13 Sikhs. On the Muslim side only 10 persons were injured of whom according to Government's own version none are in a dangerous condition. Does it not show that it was a deliberate and wanton attack by Muslims on peaceful and unarmed Sikhs. How can the Government declare it as a riot. Then again 25 shots were fired and yet there was not a single casualty amongst the hooligans. The conduct of the Police supports the various rumours that the Muslim Policemen were perhaps sympathetic towards their co-religionists. The paper accuses the District authorities of being unduly generous towards the Muslim Sardar of the place and remarks that unless the Government takes some severe disciplinary action against the said Sardar and his hirelings, recrudescence of such unprovoked and brutal attacks are bound to occur.

27. The *Khalsa Sewak* (Amritsar) of the 7th April asks why the police did not fire bullets when Musalmans had not yet entered the Gurdwara and why it failed to check them when they were losing temper. The paper considers this attack as an attack on the

honour of the panth and the Guru. In its opinion, the main cause of this mishap is the past autocratic acts of Malak Muhammad Niwaz and the negligence of the local police. It calls upon the Government to do justice in the matter.

(g) Sikh Muslim clash at Kot Bhai Than Singh : Muslim view.

28. Throwing the responsibility of the communal clash at Kot Bhai Than Singh, solely on the Sikhs, a Muslim contractor of Fateh Jang, writes to the *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 8th April, stating how the Sikhs had been already determined for a riot having heaped a pile of stones for the purpose which they began to fling at the Muslims wounding a Sub-Inspector of Police, breaking the windows of the Gardwara, killing one of their own men themselves and then laying all this to the charge of the Muslims. According to the correspondent all these incidents were witnessed by the Head Constable who admitted in his statement that the initiative was taken by the Sikhs. The correspondent demands the appointment of some English official instead of the Sikhs deputed to make an enquiry into the affair.

(h) Sikh Muslim clash at Kot Bhai Than Singh : Hindu view.

29.. In the opinion of the *Partap* (Lahore) of the 10th April, the state of affairs at Kot Bhai Than Singh has assumed a serious aspect. Sikh Jathas, says the paper, are reaching there and it has been decided to hold the Bisakhi Fair at that place. If any disturbance takes place the responsibility thereof will rest with the Muslims of the *ilaqa* who in the pride of their majority are making life miserable for the Hindus and the Sikhs. It is the duty of the Government to make such arrangements as may enable the Hindus and Sikhs of that place to lead an honourable life.

30. The *Milap* (Lahore) of the 10th April suggests the appointment of a commission which may enquire as to who is responsible for all that has occurred or is taking place in Kot Bhai Than Singh.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Naturalisation Bill to be introduced in the Kashmir State Assembly.

31. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 7th April understand that Shaikh Abdul Hamid, a State Councillor of Kashmir, intends to move in the State Assembly a Naturalisation Bill, which proposes to fix a period of 20 years' residence for acquiring the status of a State subject in Jammu and Kashmir. The measure, the paper remarks, if passed, would do away with the present exceedingly harsh definition of State subject. Twenty years' residence is, however, too long a period for the acquisition of the status. In Great Britain not more than five years' residence is sufficient to enable a person to become a naturalised British subject, and in view of the benefits derived by the State and the people of Jammu and Kashmir from British India, it would

be meet and proper substantially to reduce the period of residence for purposes of naturalisation in the State. But in view of past experience it would be too optimistic to expect the Kashmir Assembly to agree to any reduction. A Bill on almost similar lines has already been twice introduced in the Praja Mandal by another State Councillor, Pandit Lok Nath. It was withdrawn by the mover in the first instance, while the House rejected it when it was again introduced in the last Srinagar session of the Assembly. The paper hopes that Sheikh Abdul Hamid's Bill will not share the fate of Pandit Lok Nath's Bills and a beginning will be made in the relaxation of the too strict conditions that are imposed in Jammu and Kashmir on the acquisition of the status of a State subject.

IV —MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) Cow-killing and the Hindu Maha Sabha.

32. Referring to an A. P. I. report to the effect that at a meeting of the Hindu Maha Sabha held in Delhi it was decided to send a deputation to wait upon the U. P. Government and to request it to prohibit cow-killing in Muttra, the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 8th April says that in the speech delivered by him on the occasion Bhai Parma Nand held out the threat of leading Satyagraha in the event of the deputation failing to achieve its object. As the threat is meant for Government the paper has to make no remarks. All that it can say is that the Hindus want to deprive the Muslims, who form a poor minority in Muttra, of their religious right. It is hoped that the U. P. Government will not be cowed down by the threat.

(b) Alleged ill-treatment of a Journalist on duty.

33. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 6th April is of opinion that the entire press in the country is bound to protest against the outrageous treatment that has been meted out to Mr. A. J. Lobo a reporter attached to the Bombay Office of the *United Press*. It is alleged, says the paper, that on March 31, hearing reports of a disturbance, he went to the police station, to check his information. This is what every responsible journalist would have done. A police sergeant, who was standing at the gate of the police station, without making any enquiry, rushed towards him and handled him roughly. Not content with this he dragged the journalist inside the station where he was given further hammering. To add insult to injury Mr. Lobo was taken to the hospital with hand cuffs on. And then he was left in the lock-up to pass the night there. Of course, next morning the journalist was released. The matter has been reported to the Police Commissioner who, it is hoped, will make a thorough enquiry into the allegations. If the report is found to be true the sergeant must be suitably dealt with. There should be no place for such men in the Indian police force.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,
Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

The 10th April, 1937.

18 PB -123—15-4-37—SGPP Lahore.

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MOHAMMAD [illegible],

Officiating [illegible].

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 17th April, 1937.

Contents.

Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 17th April, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Italian Government's action against certain Indian firms in Abyssinia.

1. Apropos the discussion that took place in the Assembly on Sir Muhammad Yaqub's question regarding the closing down of certain Indian firms in Abyssinia, the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 15th April, remarks that the oppressed Indians residing in Abyssinia have to bear the brunt of the enmity that Italy bears towards Britain. Had the Italian officers no grudge against England, they would never have made the Indian merchants in Abyssinia the target for their vindictiveness. Thus the British Government is indirectly responsible for the ruination of these Indian merchants and firms. It, therefore, behoves the Government of India to adopt a retaliatory attitude towards Italy to force her hands to make good the loss suffered by the Indian merchants in Abyssinia.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords on the Constitutional deadlock.

2. Commenting on the speech made by Lord Zetland in the House of Lords on the Constitutional deadlock in six out of the eleven provinces in India, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 11th April, regrets that he should have rejected every suggestion that has so far been made to him for ending the deadlock including the one made by Lord Lothian that an attempt should be made to ascertain whether the contention of the *Tribune* that what the Congress leaders wanted was not an assurance that the special powers would never be used in any circumstances, but only that they would not be used to nullify the constitutional activities of the ministers, represented the view of the Congress, because that view seemed to his Lordship to open the way for a reasonable settlement, there being no intention under the act of interfering with those activities. After reproducing the example cited by way of supposition, by Lord Zetland, of the schools maintained for the benefit of the minorities being closed by a ministry enjoying the confidence of the majority community in a Provincial Assembly to show that constitutional activity can prove detrimental to the interests of a minority, the paper says that there is not a single Congressman in any part of the country who would consider such a measure a constitutional activity on the part of the majority. It would certainly infringe the accepted constitutional principle that "the majority may govern, but not oppress the minority." So far as the Congress itself is concerned, Lord Zetland must be singularly ignorant of its history and traditions if he does not know that it has always accepted this principle as binding on it and that in every attempt made by it to draw up a constitution it has placed in the forefront of its programme the promulgation of a declaration of rights guaranteeing to every minority in the country the non-violability of its religious rights and the due protection and safeguarding of its cultural interests. When

the Congress used the words "constitutional activities" it was fully prepared for the contingency of a difference of opinion between itself and the Governors as to what was or was not a constitutional activity, and it knew quite well that when such a contingency did arise it was the Governors themselves who would judge whether a particular activity was or was not constitutional in the sense of precluding the use of their special powers.

3. In the opinion of the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 11th April, Lord Zetland has made it perfectly clear that the demand made by the Congress was one which the Governors could not have accepted without an amendment of the Constitution. He has also illustrated the illegality of the Congress demand, by a reference to the rights of minorities, but prominent Congressmen are still dumb. This cannot but lead to the conclusion that the Congress does not want to protect the rights of minority communities If, says the paper, Congress leaders be sincere in their desire for mobilizing Muslim opinion in favour of Congress why do they hesitate in giving the assurances that the Muslims demand? When they are not prepared to ensure adequate representation to minorities in provincial Ministries, the conclusion will be irresistible that the Congress is Hindu Mahasabha under another garb, pining for the freedom of India from the British yoke to establish Hindu Raj in a country which is the common motherland of not only Hindus, but also of Muslims, Christians and other minorities.

4. The *Khalsa Review* (Lahore) of the 12th April, thinks that in essence all that Lord Zetland said is that the Congress must give up its privileged position and its leaders should crawl on all fours to seek power and patronage at the hands of the Governors. It is a pity, the paper observes, that Lord Zetland, who is expected to be well conversant with parliamentary Government, has taken up an attitude like that of a Mussolini or a Hitler.

5. The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 14th April, thinks that the speech will create extreme tension between Government and the Congress. It is difficult, says the paper, to predict the nature of this tension. It is possible that Government may open the doors of jail and the Congressmen may be compelled to pass through the fiery ordeal of civil disobedience. The situation demands that the country needs must hold itself in readiness to confront the worst that may befall it.

6. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 15th April, refers to the example given by Lord Zetland to show that a constitutional activity can prove detrimental to the interests of a minority and remarks that no Congressite paper has been able to give proper reply to it. The *Tribune's* comments on it are meaningless. It would have been better if it had made no comments at all in this connection. His Lordship has exposed the interior of the Congress and made it perfectly clear that the principle underlying the special powers of the Governor is the protection of minorities. If the Congress

gives an assurance to the minorities about the protection of their rights they will lose no time in coming forward with the cry that there is no need of vesting special powers in Governors. Is the Congress ready to do so ?

(b) Mr. Gandhi's suggestion regarding the appointment of a tribunal.

7. Referring to the suggestion made by Mr. Gandhi regarding the appointment of an arbitration tribunal of three judges one of whom will be appointed by the Congress and another by the British Government, with power to the two to appoint a third, to decide whether it is competent for the Governors to give the required assurances described by him, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 15th April, says that one may well ask the question whether Congressmen will abide by the decision of such a tribunal if it goes against them. When a member of the second Round Table Conference as the sole representative of Congress, Mr. Gandhi gave his blessing to the proposal that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald should arbitrate on the question of communal representation in Indian legislatures. But the Congress has not at all accepted the Communal Award. How, then, can it be expected to bow to the decision of an arbitration tribunal of the sort proposed by the Mahatma if its verdict is against Congress ? Mr. Gandhi is pained to find that Lord Zetland has referred to the rights of minorities in his statement. " Congress," he declares " cannot exist for two days if it disregards the interests of the minorities .... Congress Ministries, if they ever come into existence, will dig their own grave without the Governor's safeguards, the moment they trample upon the rights of minorities or resort to injustice otherwise." One has only to compare this statement with the demand, formulated by Mr. Gandhi and his friends lately at Madras, for the replacement of Urdu by Hindi as the medium of instruction in the Osmania University and the abolition of Urdu as court language in the Punjab, to realize that a general assurance like that given in Mr. Gandhi's latest statement cannot satisfy the minorities. When the general assurance given by the Governors to Congress leaders of " help, sympathy and co-operation " could not satisfy the Congress, Mr. Gandhi must be a Mahatma indeed if he imagines that Muslims and other minorities could be satisfied with meaningless phrases such as " the Congress cannot exist for two days if it disregards the interest of minorities ". That the Governors referred to the rights of minorities in the course of their interviews with Congress leaders cannot be denied. Why then did the latter not assure them that the minorities' rights would be perfectly safe under Congress Ministries ? As pointed out by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan in the course of the Punjab Assembly debate on Lord Zetland's statement, the Congress leaders, while demanding assurances from Governors, had not made it clear that they would not allow any situation to arise calling for the exercise of the Governors' special powers. And even now when both Lord Lothian and Lord Zetland have

specifically called attention to the rights of minorities, Mr. Gandhi can find no better reply than a resort to rhetorical phrases which have no relation whatever to actualities.

8. Referring to the article contributed by Lord Lothian to the *Times* criticizing Mr. Gandhi's suggestion and saying "that the real key to the solution lies in the recognition of the fact that under a system of responsible government the ultimate decision against an abuse of power comes to rest with the electorate", the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 15th April, remarks that let Lord Lothian obtain from His Majesty's Government and from the British Parliament the assurance that the special responsibilities of the Governors would be used for no other purpose than that of ascertaining the wishes of the electorate, and that if and when the electorate will give its verdict in favour of the ministry they will loyally accept that verdict, and the trouble will immediately cease. India's fundamental quarrel with the new Constitution is not that it bristles with safeguards, but that those safeguards are exercisable, not by any authority responsible to an Indian electorate and according to the wishes of that electorate, but by authorities who both immediately and ultimately are beyond the reach of the Indian electorate and wholly uncontrollable by it.

9. The *Khalsa Sewak* (Amritsar) of the 16th April, is of opinion that the suggestion made by Mahatma Gandhi is a useful one. The Government should consider it dispassionately and accept it. If, however, it rejects it, it will be committing a blunder as a result of which India may once again have to see days like that of 1929-30. The situation as yet is not such as may have become out of control. If the Government still does not act with wisdom, it is doubtful whether the peaceful atmosphere in the country will remain unbesmirched.

(c) Mr. Gandhi and the Muslims.

10. In the opinion of the *Light* (Lahore) of the 8th April, it was the first Himalayan blunder on the part of Mahatmaji to have mixed himself up with a purely Hindu movement like untouchability. This cost him the confidence of the Musalmans and for the matter of that his all-India leadership and authority. His second equally big blunder is his dabbling with the purely Hindu question of Hindi. The question of a common language and a common script no doubt forms an important plank in a scheme of nation-building. But Mahatmaji could not be unaware that a regular tug-of-war over this question has been going on between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Musalmans consider it as tantamount to their cultural death to be cut adrift from Urdu language and script—the repositories of all their cultural heritage. And it is unfortunate that a man of Mahatma Gandi's position should have chosen to take it upon himself to deal that blow. If the foreign government had engineered such a move the paper could very well understand it; for it is the surest way to create a permanent gulf between Hindus and Muslims. But a man like Mahatma Gandhi

who surely wants to see India united and free should have thought twice before associating himself with such a short-sighted idea as the infliction of Nagri script on 80 millions of Musalmans who put as much value on their culture as on the freedom of their motherland.

III—INDIAN STATES.

(a) The Jaipur State and the Muslims.

11. Referring to the immigration of 1400 Muslims from Surajgarh, Jaipur State, as a protest against the humiliating treatment meted out to the Muslim inhabitants of the place at the hands of the State authorities, the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 16th April, regrets that the authorities should continue to harass the Muslims and to desecrate their places of worship. If, says the paper, the oppressed Muslims had taken some desperate step military power of the Government of India would have come into motion forthwith. But in the present case the said Government is maintaining silence. If it pays no attention to the matter the Muslims will be justified in concluding that it has given the States unconstitutional liberty to induce them to join the federation.

(b) The Mysore State and disabilities arising from change of religion.

12. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 17th April, congratulates the Mysore Government on its decision to introduce at the ensuing session of the State Legislative Council a Bill for the removal of all disabilities arising from change of religion or deprivation of caste. Under the Hindu Law, says the paper, a Hindu on conversion to another religion is considered as civilly dead and loses his right of inheritance in the family to which he belongs. A similar disability attaches to Muslims under Mohammadan Law who become converts to another religion. The present Nawab of Bhopal amended on his accession to the gadi and at the request of his Hindu subjects the Bhopal State laws so as to allow free conversion and re-conversion of people, with the result that for years past no disability has attached to Hindu converts to Islam who return to the fold of their original religion. The Muslim subjects of the Maharaja of Kashmir have repeatedly urged the removal of the disabilities imposed by Hindu Law on those who embrace another faith. Despite the example set by the Muslim ruler of Bhopal, however, the Kashmir Government still adheres to its antediluvian laws. Now that a Hindu State like Mysore has decided to come into line with British India, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir would be well advised to follow suit.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

Situation in Waziristan.

13. Referring to the protest raised by the Muslims in India against the aerial bombardment of the Afridis, the *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 10th April, remarks that the protest seems to have produced

no effect on the Military Department of the Government of India as it has made an announcement that bombs will be dropped from the air in certain parts of Waziristan. It is the height of barbarism to throw bombs on people who have no tanks, aeroplanes and other modern means of protection. The paper appeals to the Government of India in the name of humanity to stop aerial bombardment in Waziristan. Indeed, adds the paper, the English will be justified in denouncing tyrannical methods adopted by Italy in Abyssinia if they themselves refrain from resorting to such means in Waziristan.

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN,

Superintendent, Press Branch,
Punjab Civil Secretariat.

The 17th April, 1937.

9 PB -128—22-4-37—SGPP Lahore.

D.I.G. / A.D.I.G.

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Report on Newspapers and Periodicals in the Punjab

For the week ending Saturday, the 24th April, 1937.

Contents.

I—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(a) Textile Conference held at Washington.

1. Referring to the remark made by Sir Firoz Khan Noon, High Commissioner for India, while speaking at the world Textile Conference, held at Washington, that the Indian textile industry would be wiped out by the Japanese competition if the tariff barriers were removed, the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 20th April, states that the same view was later expressed by Mr. Brajmohan Birla who thought that there was nothing wrong about the barriers erected for self-defence especially against competition aided by currency manipulation and other devices. It is true, the paper says, that the trade barriers which have been established in different countries of the world should as far as possible be reduced. But a reduction can only be possible if the highly industrialized countries are prevented from killing local industries in the countries which find it impossible to withstand outside competition. The textile industry in India is in such a condition that a lowering of the barriers may spell its ruin.

(b) The Palestine problem.

2. The *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 20th April, understands that Great Britain has under consideration a proposal to divide Palestine into two parts and says that by this division in the first instance it is meant to obliterate the local freedom of the Arabs and in the second to effect hostile fortifications on their geographical boundaries, so that permanent arrangement may be made to crush them at the time when they are up in their desire to attain freedom. To divide the Arabs and the Jews into two balanced Governments is tantamount to laying the foundation of never ending feuds between them. Raids and counter raids will continue, in which Jews are sure to come out successful in the end, because coast points will be in their possession and they will be in a position to receive help from the various countries of Europe. The fact of the matter is that the idea of the division of Palestine has been conceived in the light of bringing about the Arabs' destruction. Great Britain has lost the aptitude of deriving benefit from her bitter experiences. The only way of subduing the Arabs is to bury the Balfour declaration and run the administration of Palestine according to the wishes of the Palestine people. When the Arabs will take the reins of Government of their country in their own hands they will treat the Jews as their guests.

(c) The new Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement.

3. In the opinion of the *Akali Patrika* (Lahore) of the 23rd April, the Agreement is being condemned everywhere, not because it does not fulfil the expectations of factory-owners and traders, but because it is also not beneficial for cotton-growing peasants. It is calculated to benefit mostly Japan. It also makes it clear that the Government cares more for imperial interests and political expediency than for the interests of Indian factory-owners, traders and peasants.

4. According to the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 24th April, the Commercial Treaty between Japan and India which has just been signed is not at all satisfactory to Indian manufacturers and traders. The recommendations of Indian and European businessmen whom Government co-opted on the Treaty Revision Committee have been disregarded. The new Treaty, instead of protecting Indian piecegoods, gives a strong inducement to the Japanese to produce their full quota of fents. In another direction, too, the Japanese are being allowed to compete with Indian vessels in the Indian coasting trade.

II—HOME AFFAIRS.

(a) Constitutional deadlock.

5. Referring to the article contributed by Lord Lothian to the *News Chronicle* in which he says: "If I were a Congressman, I think that I should say—'Don't let us ask for any assurances from any body", the *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 22nd April, remarks that its own belief is that Lord Lothian would do nothing of the kind if he were a Congressman, but on the contrary would act exactly as Congressmen are acting. The mistake of Lord Lothian lies in his assumption that the constitution which India is called upon to work is on a level with the constitutions of England and the Dominions in the early days of their responsible government. It is this fundamental misconception that vitiates all his arguments and is chiefly responsible for the well-meaning but perfectly impracticable advice he has been giving to Congressmen and other political-minded Indians during the last few weeks. It is strange that instead of quarrelling with the Secretary of State for interpreting the provisions of the Constitution Act in a manner which is utterly inconsistent with the basic purpose of responsible government, which, indeed, reduces all talk of responsible government to a hollow mockery, Lord Lothian should fall foul of the Congress for not treating the spurious coin that has been offered to India as if it were the genuine article. Is it the fault of the Congress that the Governors in India, unlike the Crown in England or the Crown's representatives in the Dominions, possess the power of interfering with any and every activity of their ministers, including even activities whose constitutionality is beyond question, or that while the ultimate appeal in those countries lies to the electorate, the ultimate appeal in India lies to an extraneous and wholly irresponsible authority?

6. Alluding to the speech made by Mr. Langley, President of the European Association, Cochin, at a meeting of the said association in the course of which he regretted that Lord Lothian did not fully realize the necessity of making an attempt to satisfy a representative body like the Congress, the *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 18th April, observes that the coming into field of Mr. Langley, after the *Statesman* in support of the Congress demand, indicates how strong is the position of the Congress. The paper is, therefore, of the opinion that to postpone the meeting of the Assemblies till August so that each of the dummy Ministers may get three or four

thousand rupees per mensem as pay for several months is a gross misuse of the public fund and that the Government should give up their false notion of prestige and extend their hand of peace to the Congress, because they will have to do this sooner or later.

(b) Reshuffling of portfolios in the Central Government.

7. Alluding to the redistribution of portfolios in the Central Government, as announced in a New Delhi *communiqué* as a result of which Railways will be taken away from Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan and placed under the charge of Sir Thomas Stewart, who recently succeeded Sir Frank Noyce as member for Industries and Labour, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 18th April, says that this redistribution of portfolios may appear to be a better and more logical arrangement to some people. The people of this country would, however, have vastly preferred if the new portfolio of Communications had been assigned to an Indian. This was all the more necessary as Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan has proved highly competent as member for Railways. It would, therefore, have been most reasonable if the Communications portfolio had been assigned to him and the Commerce and Labour Departments made over to Sir Thomas Stewart. The change will cause the keenest disappointment among Muslims. It is largely as a result of the special interest taken by the member for Railways that some improvement has lately taken place in the representation of Musalmans in railway services. The improvement has no doubt been confined for the most part to the lowest grades. Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan, however, held out hopes in the course of the last Railway budget debate that steps would be taken to follow the same policy in the intermediate grades. With the removal of Railways from the charge of the Muslim member, it is feared that the campaign to do justice to the Muslim minority will not be carried with the same vigour.

(c) The Congress and the Muslims : Hindu view.

8. Writing in the *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 21st April, Krishan remarks that the Muslims should have welcomed the attempts the Congress is making to win them over to its side, but it is suprising that certain Muslim circles hold them a new move to ensnare the Muslims. On the one hand the Congress is accused of being a Hindu body and on the other when effort is made to make it a Hindu-Muslim body the motives of the Congress are suspected and attacks are made on its honesty. It is clear that if Muslims join the Congress in large numbers it cannot remain a Hindu body. The good of the Muslims lies in dominating the Congress. There is no doubt that the Congress is bound to succeed if it works among the Muslims, but it should not strike bargains with them. If the Muslims are to join the Congress they should do so as Indians and not as followers of Islam.

9. The *Tribune* (Lahore) of the 22nd April, is of opinion that the efforts made by the Congress to bring the Muslim masses within its fold have perturbed the equanimity of Mr. Jinnah. He tries to

make out that there is something sinister behind these efforts and that if the Congress succeeds in its object the solidarity of the Muslim community will be undermined. He dubs the Congress a Hindu organization and, therefore, asks it not to interfere in the affairs of Muslims. Unfortunately for him, says the paper, the progressive elements among Muslims have seen through the game and are not prepared to be caught in the trap laid for them. On the other hand, they are prepared to work and fight, like other communities, under the banner of the great political organization to win freedom for their motherland. This is quite evident from the disruption that has taken place in the ranks of the Muslim League and the proceedings of the Ahrar Conference that has just taken place at Lucknow. It is a pity that Mr. Jinnah does not realize the harm that he is doing to his country and to his community by preaching this cult of separatism among his co-religionists.

(d) The Congress and the Muslims : Muslim view.

10. According to the *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 21st April, the attempts which the Congress is making to win over the Muslims to its side are bearing fruit as certain members of Muslim bodies are showing inclination to join the Congress. Recent reports received from the United Provinces go to show that some of the nationalist Muslims, who were returned to the Legislature on the ticket of the Muslim League, are about to join the Congress and to lay stress on the introduction of mixed electorates. If nationalist Muslims, says the paper, want to join the Congress to serve the country with greater zeal no one can have any objection to their participation in the Congress. The paper, however, wishes that the Muslim League should maintain its individual existence. It, therefore, suggests that the League should declare complete independence as its goal so that the Muslims may not leave it on account of its present ideal and it, too, may be able to work shoulder to shoulder with the Congress.

11. In the opinion of the *Zamindar* (Lahore) of the 22nd April, the Muslim community is whole-heartedly prepared to join the Congress provided that the said body recognizes its individual existence and its rights, evolves a sound formula to replace the Communal Award and accepts Maulana Hasrat Mohani's terms of making federal republic its goal instead of complete independence, declaring 'Hindustani' as the language and Urdu and Hindi scripts for the republican Government in India and assuring the minorities of non-interference with their religious and social rights either directly or by means of legislation.

12. The *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 23rd April says, that if Mr. Nehru wants Muslims to join the Congress as a body, he should get into touch with the genuine leaders of the Musalmans and have heart to heart talks with them. Is he afraid that Mr. Jinnah or other prominent Muslims may persuade him to adopt a course

which will be resented by his Hindu colleagues ? Perhaps the discomfiture of Babu Rajendra Prasad, when President of the Congress, at the hands of the Muslim League President has produced an inferiority complex in Pandit Jawaharlal. If this is not the case and he thinks he is as efficient a negotiator as Mr. Jinnah he should not try to approach the Muslim masses over the head of real leaders of the community. He should rather follow the example of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, who, being in an overwhelming majority in the Punjab, offered men like Raja Narendra Nath, Chaudhri Chhotu Ram and Sir Sundar Singh Majithia seats in his Cabinet—men who really count in their communities.

13. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 23rd April, affirms that the reason why the Muslims are keeping aloof from the Congress is that it does not recognize their rights and does not concede their demands. If it makes a declaration calculated to satisfy the Muslims in this behalf there is no reason why the Muslims should not join it without loss of further time.

(e) The situation in Waziristan.

14. Referring to the letter which has appeared in the columns of the *London Times* urging the withdrawal of the Wazirs' right to carry arms, the *Eastern Times* (Lahore) of the 22nd April, says that the advocates of this drastic measure, do not pause to consider the causes of the present agitation, which is apparently spreading to the Mahsuds. The principal reason of the popularity of the Faqir of Ipi's campaign is that it appeals to the love of freedom and independence which has been bred in the bone of Pathan tribes for thousands of years. It is the forward policy, seeking as it does to incorporate Pathanistan into British India, that is responsible for the present trouble. The Pathans are not blind to the implications of this policy. They have realized that the construction of military roads in their home-lands is calculated to rob them of their independence. That the sympathies of the Government and people of Afghanistan are with the tribesmen in their struggle for independence is well known. As a matter of fact, it is suspected in certain quarters that the attempt to lay on the tribesmen the whole blame for the frequent recrudescence of trouble on the border are designed to hoodwink the Afghans into the belief that the Government of India are forced by the outrageous conduct of the Pathans themselves to undertake military expeditions into their territory. But the Afghans are too shrewd to take such assurances at their face value. Nor should His Majesty's Government be oblivious of the repercussions of these expeditions on world opinion. When the Germans dropped bombs from the air during the World War, they were called "baby-killers" by England. British protests against Italian barbarities in Abyssinia are a matter of recent history. Are not the German and Italian writers now pointing the finger of scorn at England and accusing her of rank hypocrisy ? The warnings conveyed to tribesmen before air bombing commences cannot silence the tongue of adverse criticism. In view of all these facts any attempt to disarm the Wazirs would

not only antagonize world opinion in general and Muslim opinion in particular, but also swell the ranks of the Faqir of Ipi's followers. Both His Majesty's Government and the Government of India would, therefore, do well to count the cost before they accept such a reprehensible suggestion.

15. In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* (Lahore) of the 22nd April, it is more than ridiculous for opponents of Government's policy to declare that the whole trouble has been caused owing to the making of roads and the invasion of tribal territory, thus threatening the cherished independence of the tribes. This special pleading takes no account of the fact that if the tribesmen had been content to remain in their own areas instead of raiding in British territory at frequent intervals, carrying off women and cattle and committing wanton murders, they would have been left alone. Government was forced to make roads in order to get at them, so that kidnapped people could be recovered and punishment meted out. Certainly Government's Frontier policy requires drastic revision. Those extravagant allowances, amounting to nearly a crore annually, given to the tribes to keep them quiet, have been spent on up-to-date rifles and ammunition. It is openly stated that some lakhs of well-armed tribesmen can now be mustered at the call of fanatical mullahs. The *Times* is on the right line when it suggests that these tribesmen should be disarmed. The appalling loss of Indian and British lives during recent weeks has its own lesson. The time for political palaver has passed. Vigorous action is what is wanted to-day.

16. The *Ihsan* (Lahore) of the 23rd April, does not approve of the *Times*' suggestion as, in the paper's opinion, it cannot improve the situation. The paper suggests that the Trans-frontier tribes should be left alone, or Government should adopt conciliatory attitude towards them so that the Indian exchequer may be saved from the expenditure of unnecessary and useless wars.

17. The *Hindu* (Lahore) of the 23rd April, publishes a communication in which the writer—Diwan Radha Kishan Puri, M.A., LL.B., Pleader—says that it would have been better if at the time of drawing the Durand Line the responsibility of control over the tribal area had been placed on the shoulders of the Kabul Government. Probably certain military reasons did not allow Government to do so. It is noteworthy whether it is wise on the part of Government to grant enormous sums to the tribes by way of allowances, because with these sums they purchase modern weapons and arms, can send lakhs of armed men to the battlefield at a very short notice and can always prove permanent danger to the law-abiding people living on the north-western boundary of India.

III—INDIAN STATES.

Situation in the Malerkotla State.

18. Referring to the news of renewed disturbances in the Malerkotla State, the *Pilot* (Amritsar) of the 18th April, remarks that on the last occasion, the crisis culminated in Muslims of the State adopting

the extreme step of Hijrat thus demonstrating from place to place the magnitude of highhandedness and atrocities of the State officials towards them. It was after some time that better counsel prevailed and the Muhajirs were persuaded by the authorities, after holding out definite promises and undertakings for the redress of their grievances, to return to their homes. It is extremely hopeless and regrettable to note that State authorities, instead of pacifying the turbulent passions of their aggrieved subjects, have thought it advisable to arrest prominent people including the Mufti, who have no other charge against them except that they are advocating the cause of the oppressed with a view to obtaining justice from those who are assuming autocratic power. The most disappointing aspect of the whole affair is that Muslim subjects have grievances against a Muslim State. The paper hopes that the State authorities will fulfil their promises and pledges made at the time of persuading the Muhajirs to repatriate avoiding, thereby, the intervention of the paramount power whose help has been sought by the poor sufferers in the hour of their extreme misery.

IV—MISCELLANEOUS.

Ox-roasting on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty's the King-Emperor.

19. Referring to the cablegram sent to the British Premier by Mr. Jamna Dass Mehta, ex-Mayor, Bombay, and the present Finance Minister to the Bombay Government requesting him to dispense with the ceremony of ox-roasting on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty, the *Milap* (Lahore) of the 21st April, expresses the hope that out of regard for the feelings of Indians the ceremony of ox-roasting will not be allowed to be performed in England. His Majesty is not only the King of England but is also Emperor of India. On the occasion of his Coronation people of England should not commit any act calculated to injure the feelings of Indians. Moreover a ceremony which revives the memory of days of ignorance can prove of no use. Humanity and civilization demand its abolition.

20. The *Pratap* (Lahore) of the 22nd April also writes in the same strain.

21. The *Inqilab* (Lahore) of the 23rd April, thinks that the British Premier will certainly laugh at this novel demand because the Hindus are not moved by the slaughter of lakhs of kine which are daily consumed in India.

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The 24th April, 1937. *Punjab Civil Secretariat.*

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